CONSTANTINOPLE TODAY

THE PATHFINDER SURVEY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

CLARENCE R. JOHNSON

Walter Hines Page
Library

Randolph-Macon College
ASHLAND, VA.
Discarded

Presented by
Mrs. T. W. L. Hughes.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/constantinopleto0000clar_i4z9

CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO · DALLAS
ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

Photograph by Bergren

Interior of St. Sophia

CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY

OR

THE PATHFINDER SURVEY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A Study in Oriental Social Life

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE

FOREWORD BY

CALEB F. GATES, D.D., LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF ROBERT COLLEGE

Discarded

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1922

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

914.961
J66
+

COPYRIGHT, 1922,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and printed. Published November, 1922.

Press of
J. J. Little & Ives Company
New York, U. S. A.

DEDICATED

TO THE ORGANIZER OF THIS SURVEY

JAMES PERRY

A LOVER OF TRUTH

KILLED IN ASIA MINOR

BETWEEN AINTAB AND ALEPPO BY BANDITS

WHILE ON AN ERRAND OF MERCY,

FEBRUARY 1, 1920

13726

Acknowledgments to those who aided the Council of Fifteen in various ways in making the Pathfinder Survey possible.

Mr. Altabev
Miss Arousiag Avedian
Mrs. Peter Barton
Miss Louise Benson
Mrs. Braunstein
Miss Ann M. Burgess
Miss Caldwell
Mrs. Edith Childs
Mrs. Melville Chater
Prof. Constas Constantinou
Mr. Demetriades
Mr. Constantine Diamantoglou
Prof. Mihran Djedjizian
Miss P. Dzalian
Prof. Stavros Emmanuel
Feridoun Bey
Prof. Edgar J. Fisher
Mrs. Gabrielides
Miss Victoria Galajikian
Miss Mary Gleason
Dr. E. R. Graff
The Late Greek Locum Tenens, Dorotheos
Mr. Christo Guiochas
Prof. Abraham Der Hagopian
Mr. Theodore Haralambides
Hassan Tahsin Bey
Miss Glee Hastings
Lt. Rickatson-Hatt
Mrs. James M. Hester
Mme. Hourchid Bey
Hussein Bey
Mrs. H. S. Huntington
Miss Elsie Jenison
Kemal Mehmed Bey
Mr. B. A. Kitchibeyan
Miss Gertrude Knox
Mme. Kousneczoff
Mrs. Luvajian
Mrs. George H. Manning
Mr. R. F. Markham
Miss Blanche Maruca
Dr. and Mrs. J. P. McNaughton
Miss Grace Morey
Rev. D. Minas
Mr. Achilles Mouradoglou
Mouzaffer Bey
Baron H. Murmurian
Mr. George Popoff
Miss Loretta Quinn
Mr. William J. Rapp
Prof. P. H. Robinson
Rev. Arthur C. Ryan
Miss Sarah Snell
Mme. N. Somoff
Shafak Bey
Shevketi Effendi
Miss Lomie Lee Smith
Brousalu Tahir Bey
Dr. Tavitian
Miss Alice M. True
Mrs. Lorine Wilson Whitaker
Miss Elsie Van Zandt
Prof. Peter Voicoff
Miss G. L. Youngman
The Armenian Patriarch Zaven

FOREWORD

A survey of the social and economic conditions in Constantinople was sadly needed and it is to be hoped that this work will be extended and continued through the years to come. Constantinople is a city which stands out from all the cities of the world in a class by itself. Mythology, tradition, and history make it a place of the deepest interest to scholars; its strategic position makes it a center of the greatest importance to the whole world, and around it gather questions which agitate the rulers of Europe and which will determine the peace of the Near East and of the world. In spite of its importance, which can easily be seen, Constantinople is a city without any civic consciousness. Since the time of the Mohammedan Conquest the life of the city has been divided into communities, each having a life of its own more or less independent of the others and sometimes hostile one to another. There has been no union of effort on the part of all citizens to improve the physical conditions of a city occupying one of the most beautiful sites in the world, or to regulate its economic conditions, or to build up a common system of education. The citizens of Constantinople have been divided by religion, by language, and by different, if not conflicting, interests, so that the efforts for improvement have been largely confined within the community lines. This Survey has already done much to awaken a sense of common needs and at least to suggest that it may be possible for the members of all communities to unite and coöperate in efforts for the common good and for the improvement of the city life.

It is a commonplace to say that peoples who live in the

same locality ought to be good neighbors, and yet one of the great tasks as yet unperformed in the Near East is that of teaching the peoples of different races, languages, and religions to become good neighbors one to another, and to live together in peace and harmony, and to appreciate that they have common interests which can be secured only by coöperation.

Only those who live in the Near East can appreciate the difficulties or realize what a Herculean labor it is to investigate conditions in Constantinople, and to present them in such a way as to enlist the sympathy of the peoples of the Near East and of the far West. That the people of the East appreciate their needs is shown by the heartiness with which they have coöperated in the preparation of the Survey. Constantinople has been in a state of war for more than a decade; the misery, poverty, and want that have assembled within its classic walls are appalling. They press upon the heart of every humane man with a burden almost insupportable, but we may hope that out of all these sufferings there is coming a realization of what was wrong and inadequate in pre-war history and a great longing for better things in the coming days. The Survey appears at a time when no solution of the political problems of the Near East is apparent, when the country seems drifting from bad to worse, and no one can foretell the future. The Survey serves to point out a truth, which I think is coming to be realized by thinking men all over the world, that the problems weighing so heavily upon the world at the present time are in their final issue spiritual problems, and that they can be solved only by the application of a spirit of love and of brotherly kindness and by consideration for the interests and needs of other men and other peoples than one's own. Here in this great metropolis of the Near East, at this meeting point of many nationalities, at this battle-ground of conflicting interests, there is the greatest need

for common and sound education and the application of the spirit of Christ, who taught us to love God with all our hearts and our neighbor as ourselves. The Survey is the beginning of the exposition of needs which it is incumbent upon all the world to fill. We can no longer divide the world into West and East. We must realize that there is no peace for the West while the East is at war, and that it is in the interest of the West to see that peace and prosperity and progress are secured for the East.

CALEB F. GATES.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

President Caleb F. Gates, D.D., LL.D.
Oscar Gunkel, Esq.
President Mary Mills Patrick, Ph.D., LL.D.

COUNCIL OF FIFTEEN

Mr. F. F. Goodsell, *Chairman*
Mrs. Anna Welles Brown, *Secretary*
W. W. Peet, LL.D.
Major C. Claflin Davis
Prof. Laurence S. Moore
Miss Mabelle C. Phillips
Miss Margaret B. White
Mrs. Elizabeth Dodge Huntington
Mr. Charles T. Riggs, *Vice-Chair'n*
Prof. Floyd H. Black, *Treasurer*
Dr. G. Gilbert Deaver
Mr. Samuel Anderson
Mr. Warren E. Bristol
Mrs. A. R. Hoover
Mr. Frank D. Steger

SURVEY OFFICE AND FIELD STAFF

Miss Mabel F. Hale
Mr. Harold Alpin
Mrs. Leona S. Areson
Miss Ruth Cornwall
Miss Lillian L. Dyer
Miss Alexandra Joannides
Mr. Alphonse Lusenberg
Moustafa Nebil Bey
Moustafa Nedjati Bey
Mrs. Alice Peloubet Norton
Mrs. Edna R. Strumsky
Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall
Prof. Clarence Richard Johnson, Director of Survey.

Organizations coöperating in making the Pathfinder Survey through representatives on the Council of Fifteen:

Robert College
The American Board
The Near East Relief
Constantinople College
The American Red Cross
American Chamber of Commerce
The Young Men's Christian Association
The Young Women's Christian Association

CONTENTS

CHAPTER			PAGE
	Acknowledgments		vii
	Foreword	*Caleb F. Gates*	ix
I.	Introduction	*Clarence Richard Johnson*	1
II.	Historical Setting	*Fred Field Goodsell*	11
III.	Civic Administration	*William Wheelock Peet*	87
IV.	Community Organization	*Elizabeth Dodge Huntington*	121
V.	Some Phases of Industrial Life	*Laurence S. Moore*	165
VI.	Refugees	*C. Claflin Davis*	201
VII.	Orphanages	*Anna Welles Brown*	227
VIII.	Recreation	*G. Gilbert Deaver*	259
IX.	Widowhood	*Mabelle C. Phillips*	287
X.	Adult Delinquency	*Charles Trowbridge Riggs*	323
XI.	The Native Schools	*Floyd Benson Black*	369

ILLUSTRATIONS

Interior of St. Sophia . . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

View from the Eyoub Cemetery Looking down the Golden Horn 29

Traffic on Great Galata Bridge over the Golden Horn . . 84

Fountain in the Courtyard of a Mosque 146

Council of the Whirling (Mevlevi) Dervishes in Session at Konia 152

Whirling (Mevlevi) Dervishes 152

Hamals Transporting a Hogshead of Wine 198

Selling Strawberries in the Stamboul Market 198

Moslem Refugees in a Mosque 210

Refugees Sheltered in a Tower of the Ancient Byzantine City Wall 210

Waifs in Stamboul 212

A Meal of Bread and Cheese 212

Nature Study in an Orphanage 232

Essayan Armenian Orphanage Band 242

Football in the Shadow of St. Sophia 278

Gymnastics in a Turkish School 278

Boy Scouts Crossing Galata Bridge 280

The Drive in the Seraglio Point Park 280

Widows with Starving Children 290

Industrial Work in an Institution for the Poor 314

Turkish Children Going Home from School 378

A Class in a Turkish Girls' School 378

Teaching Staff and Students of the Bayazid Primary School—Turkish 390

MAPS AND CHARTS

Statement in Turkish of the Purpose of the Survey
Facing page 10

Nationality Map . . . . . " " 18

Graphic Representation of the Administrative Offices
Between pages 120–121

Mosques of Constantinople . . . . " " 150–151

Adult Delinquency Map . . . . . *Page* 350

CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY

CONSTANTINOPLE TO-DAY

I

INTRODUCTION

THE work of the director of a social survey might be described in the vivid picture of the work of a professor, so well set forth in "Learning and Living," the recent book by Professor Emerton of Harvard University, when he says: "The professor's work is never done. It goes to bed with him at night and rises with him in the morning. It can never quite satisfy his own exacting standards, and he always sees around the borders of the accomplished a wide and never diminishing margin of the unattainable."

This description, when applied to the work of a director of a survey, is an understatement rather than an overstatement. Working under high pressure, the latter finds that his work not only accompanies him to bed at night but wakes him up at all hours of the night with its many perplexing problems. Moreover, when the survey is finished, he realizes better than any of his helpers or any of his friendly or unfriendly critics that he has only scratched the surface of what might have been done under other conditions of work.

It is recorded that both Gibbon and Judson after their long years of toil, in writing their monumental works—the one "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" and the other the translation into Burmese of the English Bible—sighed with regret that the task was accomplished.

It is with a sigh not of regret but of relief that the director of a survey sees his material ready at last for the publisher. Making a survey is necessarily an exhaustive work, for all the survey machinery must be speeded up or the conditions will have so changed that the statement of some of them will be far from true. Moreover, to those unfamiliar with conditions in the Near East it is impossible to set forth the obstacles to getting at truth in this great city of over a million people. President W. H. P. Faunce of Brown University, who had visited Constantinople some years before, wrote at the beginning of the work: "You are attempting a task which might well appal any living man," and Professor James Quayle Dealey, recently President of the American Sociological Society, under whom the Director had studied and taught sociology, wrote: "I believe you will accomplish your end, but I am convinced you have no sinecure." It has been an appalling task indeed and by no means a sinecure.

There is in Constantinople the difficulty of language and custom, for in a single half hour on the bridge between Stamboul, the largest Turkish quarter, and the newer European section, one can hear at least thirty languages spoken. Here East meets West and the ancient camel may be caught in the same photograph with the 1921 Ford automobile.

Even more difficult for the surveyor is the inaccuracy which seems to reign. Like the early biologists, who in the midst of their heated discussions as to the number of teeth a horse has, never thought of counting those teeth, so here the vast majority talk without seeking the facts. An illustration of the inaccuracy and the misinformation which we meet daily here in the Orient, even among leading officials, came through our survey of schools. In reply to a question asked of a prominent government educational official in a position to know the facts as to whether or not

there was a school for the deaf and dumb in Constantinople we were told "No." In our investigation we found one which, although only a small one, had been in existence for many years.

Here no one knows exactly what the population is. The estimates made by leading citizens sometimes seem almost ludicrous, ranging from eight hundred thousand to more than a million and a half. No careful census has ever been made here. The population is sometimes estimated by counting the number of houses.

Beginning and Organization of This Survey

This survey is of deep significance in social work, since it represents a forward movement on the part of American philanthropic workers in foreign countries to know better the people among whom they are working. Apropos of the necessity of a survey in Constantinople, a prominent American said: "For twenty-five years I have been going back and forth to my office and during all these years I have never known much of what was going on three blocks to the right or three blocks to the left of my path."

At the last meeting of the Council of Fifteen, under whose auspices the Survey has been made, it was unanimously voted to dedicate the volume containing the findings of "The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople" to James Perry, who was killed February 1, 1920, by bandits between Aintab and Aleppo, for it was owing to the enthusiasm of Mr. Perry more than to that of any other person that the plan to make a study of the social conditions in Constantinople was launched.

Shortly before starting on the trip to the interior where he lost his life, Mr. Perry, acting as National Senior Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., had visited Smyrna, where he learned of the social study then being made there. On his return to Constantinople, at a conference with Mr. Good-

sell, of the American Board, and with Professor Black, of Robert College, he urged the need of a survey of Constantinople. Winning their support, he consulted Dr. W. W. Peet, Professor George H. Huntington, Mr. Darius Alton Davis, and others, and with their approval a cable was sent to Y. M. C. A. headquarters in New York asking that the present Director, then in America doing graduate work in sociology, be engaged to undertake the work. Thanks to the coöperation of Mr. C. V. Hibbard, in charge of the Overseas Department of the Y. M. C. A., the Survey was made financially possible.

The interest of others in Constantinople was secured and a "Council of Fifteen" was chosen, among them Dr. Hoover, of the American Hospital, Col. Coombs and Mrs. Heizer, of the Near East Relief, who later, because of their work found it necessary to resign. The vacancies were filled by Mr. Samuel Anderson, Mrs. J. Wylie Brown, and Mr. Frank D. Steger.

Scope of the Survey

In view of inadequate personnel the Director found it necessary to limit the scope of this Survey as originally planned by the Council of Fifteen, omitting the housing and health sections. It is planned to make these studies later.

Time Consumed in Survey

The organization for the Survey was partly set up in April, 1920, but no work was done until after the arrival of the Director in the following October. An intensive program was then carried on for seven months, the field work of the Survey closing officially on May 25, 1921.

The Director devoted his full time to the Survey for thirteen months—two months in preparation, seven months in directing the field work, four months in editing the manu-

script. Part time was given during four additional months in completing the editorial work.

Rate of Exchange Adopted

The rate of exchange on the day on which the Survey closed has been accepted as the basis on which Turkish money and its dollar equivalent have been figured, namely, 125 piastres to the dollar, although the rate has changed considerably since, having risen as high as 212 piastres to the dollar. At present it is 150 piastres to the dollar.

Personnel

It was the plan of the originators of the Survey to have practically all of the work done by volunteers. When it actually came to gathering information, however, the Director found it necessary to have a staff of helpers who could give all their time for weeks and months to investigation. Ten such persons were finally secured. The writer of each section, however, bears the responsibility for the accuracy of his section.

It is clear to the thoughtful person that, in order to study adequately a complex city like Constantinople, a larger staff should have been engaged. In a small city like Springfield, Illinois, with a population of only 60,000, for the Springfield Survey a number of trained investigators studied the school system. If one should add the amount of time that was spent by these various investigators simply on the school system of that small city, it would amount to the entire time of one person for a whole year. In much the same way other aspects of the social life of Springfield were carefully studied. But here in Constantinople no adequate budget was provided for a large number of full-time investigators, the plan being to have all the work done by busy volunteers. It would be difficult to find more capable volunteers, and yet here lies the weakness and the

strength of the Constantinople Survey. Those of us who know Constantinople are convinced that we have gathered accurate, worth-while social data, which will prove of interest to students of social life both here and in other parts of the world. We do confess frankly, however, that we are publishing only a pathfinder survey. For a well-rounded piece of work it is evident that many more trained investigators should have been employed. On the other hand, excellent work has been done by these volunteers and this study has deepened their interest in knowing this great city. One of these volunteers made the remark: "I am going to spend the rest of my life here in Constantinople in helping to solve the particular problem I have been studying for the Survey."

Coöperation

Whenever the Survey has come to the attention of leading members of the various races here, as well as of the Allied authorities, it has not only met with a kindly reception, but has had their active support.

Among the Turks the Survey was received most cordially. The Acting Minister of the Interior assured us that every facility would be given us to study the prisons and such other conditions as we wished to study. The Minister of Public Instruction, Rashid Bey, assured the Director of his interest in this study and said: "As a member of His Majesty's Government, I welcome this survey. You are making this study in the interest of science and you can count on my hearty coöperation."

One of our women workers who was granted an interview with the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the head of religious law for all the millions of Moslems in Turkey, describes the visit in these words:

"The Sheikh-ul-Islam fairly beamed good will and benevolence when I explained to him, through an interpreter,

what a social survey is and what might be its ultimate good to Constantinople. He wished me to know the details which I sought and further gave me permission to visit the 'imarets'—the buildings clustering about the mosques, and the places where Moslem theological students live at the expense of the government and where the poor come unbidden and are made welcome. With his soft-colored robes and scarlet setting of Turkish carpets and hangings, he made a wonderful picture which belonged to the time of the Old Testament. The Sheikh-ul-Islam desired me to know that he considered that the United States had given the greatest uplift to mankind—the most powerful blow at evil—when it passed the law of prohibition. The conscientious Moslem is, of course, temperate."

Not only among the leading Turks was this Survey welcomed, but also among the common people. To show this two instances will suffice. We had the conditions investigated among a number of cab-drivers, who were so pleased at the attention that they put up a notice to this effect at their central meeting place. On the other hand, on learning of our Survey, the hamals, the burden bearers of Constantinople, implored us: "You are studying the way other people live. Study too how the hamals live." It has not been possible as yet to complete this study of hamals.

The late Greek Patriarchal *Locum Tenens* said:

"I am very glad you are going to make a study among the Greeks, because, if you find conditions good, it will please me; and if you, on the other hand, report that they are not good, I shall be happy to find this out so that I may change them."

Professor Abraham Der Hagopian, for forty-six years an honored member of the Faculty of Robert College and now President of the Armenian National Assembly, in speaking of the Survey said:

"A study of the facts of the social life of Constantinople should prove both interesting and instructive, not only to those of us who live here but to students of social life else-

where. Americans can direct such a study in our various communities as perhaps no other people could, for their philanthropic motive—free from all political aspirations in the Near East—is recognized by all the inhabitants of Turkey."

New Order

There is a new order of life in this Queen City on the Bosphorus. Before the restoration of the Constitution in 1908 if an American had a visitor from another town, there was a spy who called soon after to learn who the visitor was. Turkish women lived a restricted life behind veils and latticed windows. To-day they go about in public unveiled and are even allowed to attend the theater. Positions of responsibility as bookkeepers and clerks are open more and more to them. When the Director first came to Constantinople, ten years ago, there were no electric cars, no telephones, no electric lights. To-day we have all of these conveniences and in addition the *honk honk* of hundreds of automobiles which disturb the peace and tranquillity which had settled over this city for centuries.

Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who in student days inspired me with a love for facts in social life —President W. H. P. Faunce and my professors of sociology at Brown University, Professor James Quayle Dealey, Professor George Grafton Wilson, Dr. Carol Arnovitchi; at Harvard University, Professor Francis Greenwood Peabody, and Dr. Brackett.

In preparation for this specific task in Constantinople the advice of the following was of great help: Mr. Shelby Harrison and Mr. Evart Routzahn of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, Mr. Paul Kellogg, Editor of the *Survey* Magazine, Mr. Arthur

Heald who has made studies of rural problems in New England, Miss Ruth Crawford, Director of the Prague Survey in Czecho-Slovakia, and Mr. Sydney Gamble, Director of the recent survey in Peking, China.

Friends in America who have read our manuscript in whole or in part and have given valuable counsel, are Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton, N. J., Dr. Antonios P. Savvidis, Professor of Education at Colby College, Professor Harry Lyman Koopman, Librarian of Brown University, Professor Harold Bucklin, Assistant Professor of Sociology at Brown University, Professor Henry H. Holmes, Head of the Department of Education, Harvard University.

I would here thank most sincerely the Council of Fifteen, my Survey Staff, and all my other helpers in Constantinople—too many to name individually, for their hearty coöperation in a difficult enterprise. Special mention should be made, however, of the encouragement and advice given by our American High Commissioner, Admiral Mark L. Bristol, by President Mary Mills Patrick and by Hon. Oscar Gunkel. I would also especially thank my private secretary, Miss Mabel F. Hale, for several years secretary to Mr. Shelby Harrison of the Russell Sage Foundation, whose timely suggestions were often of great value.

In the preparation of the manuscript for the publisher I want to express my thanks to Mr. Charles T. Riggs, Professor and Mrs. Harold L. Scott, Mr. William J. Rapp, Miss Lillian L. Dyer, and Miss Lomie Lee Smith for their willing coöperation. Mr. Luther R. Fowle and Mr. Charles W. Fowle have aided by caring for business details.

To my Editorial Committee, consisting of Mr. Fred Field Goodsell and Professor Floyd H. Black, I owe my deep appreciation. Their unfailing loyalty shown from the very beginning of the Survey has transformed drudgery into pleasure.

Finally, gratitude is due to Dr. Caleb F. Gates, President of Robert College, who placed at our disposal the benefit of his experience in the Near East acquired during a residence of forty years. Both during the arduous months of field work and the equally difficult months of editing, the careful judgment, wise counsel, and constant encouragement of President Gates have helped largely in bringing this task to a successful close.

Clarence Richard Johnson,
Director and Editor of
The Pathfinder Survey of
Constantinople.

Robert College, Constantinople.

THE PATHFINDER SURVEY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Advisory Committee:

PRESIDENT CALEB F. GATES, D.D., LL.D.
PRESIDENT MARY MILLS PATRICK, PH.D., LL.D.
OSCAR GUNKEL ESQ.

Council of Fifteen

REV. F. F. GOODSELL, CHAIRMAN	HISTORICAL SETTING
REV. C. T. RIGGS, VICE-CHAIRMAN	ADULT DELINQUENCY
MRS. J. WYLIE BROWN, SECRETARY	CHILDREN
PROF. F. H. BLACK, TREASURER	EDUCATION
W. W. PEET, LL.D.	CITY ADMINISTRATION
MAJOR C. CLAFLIN DAVIS	REFUGEES
PROF. L. S. MOORE	INDUSTRY
MISS M. C. PHILLIPS	DEPENDENTS
MISS MARGARET B. WHITE	BIBLIOGRAPHY
MRS. G. H. HUNTINGTON	COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
DR. G. G. DEAVER	RECREATION
MR. SAMUEL ANDERSON	
MR. W. E. BRISTOL	
MRS. A. R. HOOVER	
MR. FRANK D. STEGER	

Organizations cooperating through representatives on the Council of Fifteen:

ROBERT COLLEGE
CONSTANTINOPLE COLLEGE
THE AMERICAN BOARD
THE NEAR EAST RELIEF
THE AMERICAN RED CROSS
AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

OFFICE
Y. M. C. A. PERSONNEL HOUSE
CABATACHE

MAIL ADDRESS:
7 RUE TAXIM, PERA.

Survey Staff:

MISS MABEL F. HALE
MR. HAROLD ALPIN
MRS. LEONA STUART ARESON
MISS ALEXANDRA JOANNIDES
MR. ALPHONSE LUSENBERG
MRS. ALICE PELOUBET NORTON
MISS RUTH F. WOODSMALL

استانبول شهرنده تدقیقات اجتماعیه

اجتماعی تدقیقات نه‌در ؟ — : استانبول شهرنده شرائط حیاتیه‌نك انسانیتکار بر نقطهٔ نظردن تدقیق وتتبعیدر . بو بویوك شهرده تحصیل وتربیه ، اکلنجه‌لر ، صنایع ، مسئولیت جزائیه‌یی حائز اولانلر طرفندن ارتکاب اولونان جرائم ، مهاجرلر ، چوجقلر ، ضرورت زده عائله‌لر ، جماعات تشکیلاتی حقنده معلومات صحیحه وتامه‌یه دسترس اولمقدر .

بو تدقیقاتی کیملر یاپیور؟ — : استانبولده اوزون برمدتدنبری اجرای فعالیت ایدن مؤسسات خیریه وتربیه‌ویه‌یه منسوب اون بش آمریقالی طرفندن یاپیلیور .

بو تدقیقاتك غایه‌سی نه‌دن عبارتدر ؟ — : استانبولده شرائط حیاتیه‌نك اصلاحنی ارزو ایدن جمعیتلره و اشخاصه ، یدتصرفلرنده‌کی وقت و نقددن اعظمی استفاده تأمین ایده‌بیلمك ایچون ، بو شرائطك ایی و فنا جهتلری حقنده معلومات جمع ایتمکدر .

باشقه شهرلرده یاپیلان اجتماعی تدقیقلر : — : کچن اون سنه ظرفنده آمریقانك مختلف شهرلرنده اجتماعی تدقیقلر یاپیلمشدر. ایلك دفعه‌اولەرق یاپیلان و خیلی مناقشاته سبب اولان [پنسیلوانیا] أیالتنك [پتیسبورغ] شهرنده‌کی تدقیقات اجتماعیه حقسزویرکیلرك رفعنه وشرائط اسکانی اصلاحه خادم اولمشدر. بوشهرده یاپیلان تدقیقاتك ویردیکی نتایج [نیویورق] أیالتنده [نیویرغ] و [سیراکوس] ؛ [آلاباما] أیالتنده [برمینغهام] ، [قانزاس] أیالتنده [طوپه‌قا] ، ایلی‌نوی أیالتنده [سپرینغ فیلد] شهرلرنده عینی اجتماعی تدقیقاتك یاپیلماسنه سبب اولمشدر .
چقواسلوواقیاده [پراغ] وچینده [پکین] شهرلرنده دخی صوك زمانلرده اجتماعی تدقیقات یاپیلمشدر.

Statement in Turkish of the Purpose of the Survey.

II

HISTORICAL SETTING

FRED FIELD GOODSELL

OUTLINE

I. Introduction
   1. The Diversity of Constantinople
   2. Population of Constantinople
   3. Nationality Map of Constantinople

II. The Greek Community in Constantinople
   1. Relationship between Ancient and Modern Greeks
   2. Early Byzantium
   3. The New Rome
   4. The Byzantine Empire 717-1453
   5. Contribution of the Byzantine Greeks to Civilization
   6. The Greeks under Turkish Dominion
   7. Evidences of Greek Influence in Modern Constantinople

III. The Armenian Community in Constantinople
   1. The First Armenians—Priests and Soldiers
   2. Social Amalgamation with the Greeks—Vth to VIIIth century
   3. Retarded Growth of Colony—IXth to XVth century
   4. Armenians at the Time of the Ottoman Conquest
   5. Armenian Interests 1500-1750
   6. Stirrings of National Consciousness 1750-1825
   7. Revival of Learning among Armenians 1825-1855
   8. Political Action and Reaction 1855-1921

IV. Constantinople the Capital of the Ottoman Empire
   1. The Beginnings of the Struggle for the City
   2. Early Ottoman Inhabitants of Constantinople
   3. Mohammed the Conqueror—1453
   4. Outline of Ottoman History: Analysis, Synthesis, Summary
   5. Sources of Ottoman Culture
   6. "Our Spirit": An Ottoman Interpretation of Ottoman History
   7. Social Characteristics of Early Ottoman Stamboul
   8. Efforts to Renew the Bases of National Power
   9. Constantinople and the Present-Day Turk
   10. Minor Nationalities in Constantinople

V. Three Common Historical Traditions of Constantinople
   1. Militarism
   2. Ecclesiasticism
   3. Trade

I. Introduction

1. The Diversity of Constantinople

No other city in the world presents such a baffling diversity as Constantinople. The ties which ordinarily unite the inhabitants of American or European, and most Oriental municipalities, are hardly to be found in Constantinople. Language, religion, nationality, race, education, customs, and to a great extent, government, separate rather than unite people in Constantinople.

The late Dr. van Millingen of Robert College, who wrote the article on Constantinople in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, seems to have been keenly aware of this diversity. He says:

"The inhabitants present a remarkable conglomeration of different races, various nationalities, divers languages, distinctive costumes, and conflicting faiths, giving, it is true, a singular interest to what may be termed the human scenery of the city, but rendering impossible any close social cohesion or the development of a common civic life. Constantinople has been well described as 'a city not of one nation but of many, and hardly more of one than of another!' "

The very geography of the city stands for diversity. Like great rivers, the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus divide the city into the three very distinct sections of Stamboul, Pera, and Scutari. Stamboul, on the site of ancient Byzantium, is the most populous and homogeneous section. The city Turk is most at home here. Pera, across the Golden Horn, maintains its traditions as the European quarter, while Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, gives the visitor a real glimpse of Anatolian life.

Climate is perhaps the most common possession, and yet one can never be quite sure whether his umbrella, most useful as he leaves his home, will not be an unnecessary burden as he journeys to a distant part of the city.

How then can one hope to know Constantinople "as a whole"? We must accept the fact that it is not a whole except in the minds of those who do not know it. Social cohesion at the present stage is indeed unimaginable.

2. Population of Constantinople

Exact records of the population of the city at various periods have not been kept. Nothing approaching a scientific census has ever been made. Estimates are amusing in their variety.

The Edinburgh Encyclopædia conducted by David Brewster, Article "Constantinople" First American Edition, 1832: "The population of Constantinople has been variously stated. Habesci makes it a million and a half, while Eton reduces it to less than 300,000! Dallaway calculates it at about 400,000 which is the most probable computation; and tells us, that according to the registry of the Stamboul effendissy, or mayor of Constantinople, in the end of the last century, there were 88,185 houses and 130 public baths. Of its inhabitants, scarcely one-half are Turks, the rest are Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and Franks."

Encyclopædia Britannica IXth Edition (1877), Article "Constantinople": "It is true of the capital as of the country at large that no point is so hard to ascertain as the sum total of the inhabitants and the relative proportion of its parts. Byzantius in 1851 reckoned the population of the city and its suburbs at about one million; 500,000 Turks, 220,000 or 300,000 Greeks, 50,000 or 120,000 Armenians, 70,000 Jews, 10,000 Franks, and 70,000 miscellaneous. Official statistics return the population of the city and suburbs as not exceeding 700,000 in 1877."

The Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople is authority for the following statement: "According to foreign statistics during the Russo-Turkish War (1876-1878) the population of Constantinople was 680,000, the Greeks being 250,000."

Grosvenor, Constantinople, Vol. I, pp. 8-9 (1895): "The number of human beings inhabiting the city has been till the last decade a theme for the wildest conjecture. Dr. Pococke, usually so judicious and discreet, a century and a half ago estimated the population as consisting of 3,340,000 Moslems, 60,000 Christians, and 100,000 Jews; or 3,600,000 altogether. In Constantinople, Andreassy half a century later, supposed there were 633,000. So there was the slight discrepancy of 3,000,000 souls between their respective figures. The official census or guess of the Government in 1855 found 873,565. The houses were declared with equal accuracy in 1877 to number 62,262. The resident population to-day can be but little less than one million, 450,000 Mussulmans, 225,000 Greeks, 165,000 Armenians, 50,000 Jews, 60,000 others."

Harper's Book of Facts (New York, 1895) makes the statement that in 1893 the estimated population of Constantinople was 925,000.

Murray's Handbook for Travelers in Constantinople, Brusa, and the Troad (1900): "The numbers according to religious beliefs are said to be:

Moslems	384,910
Greeks	152,741
Greek Latins	1,082
Armenians	220,000
Roman Catholics (Native)	6,442
Protestants (Native)	819
Bulgars	4,377
Jews	44,361
Foreigners	129,243
	943,975

New International Encyclopædia (1903), Article "Constantinople": "The population of Constantinople proper

numbers about 650,000. This figure is increased to 1,100,000 by including the suburbs. In the city proper nearly two-thirds of the population are Mohammedans."

The Year-book published by the New International Encyclopædia in 1909 reckons the population at 1,106,000.

Encyclopædia Britannica XIth Edition (1911), Article "Constantinople": "The number of the population of the city is an uncertain figure, as no accurate statistics can be obtained. It is generally estimated between 800,000 and 1,000,000. The following figures are given as an approximate estimate of the size of the communities which compose the population.

Moslems	384,910
Greeks	152,741
Greek Latins	1,082
Armenians	149,590
Roman Catholics (Native)	6,442
Protestants (Native)	819
Bulgars	4,377
Jews	44,361
Foreigners	129,243
	873,565

It is interesting to note that the Encyclopædia of Islam (Leyden, 1912), a most carefully written and edited production, in its article on Constantinople, written by J. H. Mordtmann, conspicuously avoids discussing the population of the city. Reference is made on page 875 to "Pera with its 100,000 inhabitants" (1912), but no summary of the total population is attempted.

Population Given by Miscellaneous Foreign Authorities:

Black's Guide Book 1910	1,200,000
Whitaker's Almanack 1914	1,200,000
Almanack de Gotha 1920	1,200,000
Annuaire général de la France et d'Etranger 1920-1921	1,200,000
Whitaker's Almanack 1921	1,000,000

Persistent and careful investigation on the spot during April, 1921, resulted in the following information.

According to two Turkish maps drawn by Major Hadji

Mehmed Nasroullah Effendi and Adjutant Mehmed Rushdi Effendi in 1322 (1906), the city population was 1,125,000.

The population of the city is 1,200,000 according to a Turkish geography printed in 1332 (1916). The author of this geography is Savfet Bey, at that time Director of Education of the vilayet of Constantinople, formerly professor of Economic Geography in the University of Stamboul and in the School of Commerce and Finance. Savfet Bey estimates the population of the city apart from its suburbs at 993,000.

The *Asiatic Review* (January, 1919) states that the figure 1,104,984 as the population of the city is based upon Turkish official statistics for 1910. We have not been able to locate exact "Turkish official statistics!"

The population of the city is 909,978 according to a Turkish map issued by Captain Mehmed Salih Bey, based upon statistics of 1330 (1914), and printed in 1336 (1920) by the Matba'a-i-Amiré (Government Printing Office).

In the absence of anything which might be called a systematic census, the usual Turkish method of estimating population is to depend upon the records of the imams of each ward (mahalleh) of the city. These imams are the officials connected with mosques who furnish information concerning the population, whenever it may be demanded for purposes of military conscription, sanitary administration, food and relief distribution, etc. In similar manner, the priests of the various Christian parishes and the officials of Jewish and other communities are the source of the most reliable statistics available.

Population by Major Religious Communities:

According to Captain Mehmed Salih Bey, referred to above, there were 560,434 Moslems in the city (1330/1914). This figure includes Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Kurds, Circassians, and Persians.

The Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople is authority for the statement that in 1912 there were 384,689 Greeks in the city. The figure 309,657 quoted in the *Asiatic Review* (January, 1919) does not include the Greeks of the dioceses of the Archbishops of Kadikeuy and Derkos, both of which are ordinarily included in estimates of the city population.

The Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople sent a list to the Protestant Armenian Chancery in 1919, which is authority for the statement that there are 118,000 Armenians in the city. It is estimated that 32,000 Armenian refugees have come to Constantinople since 1914.

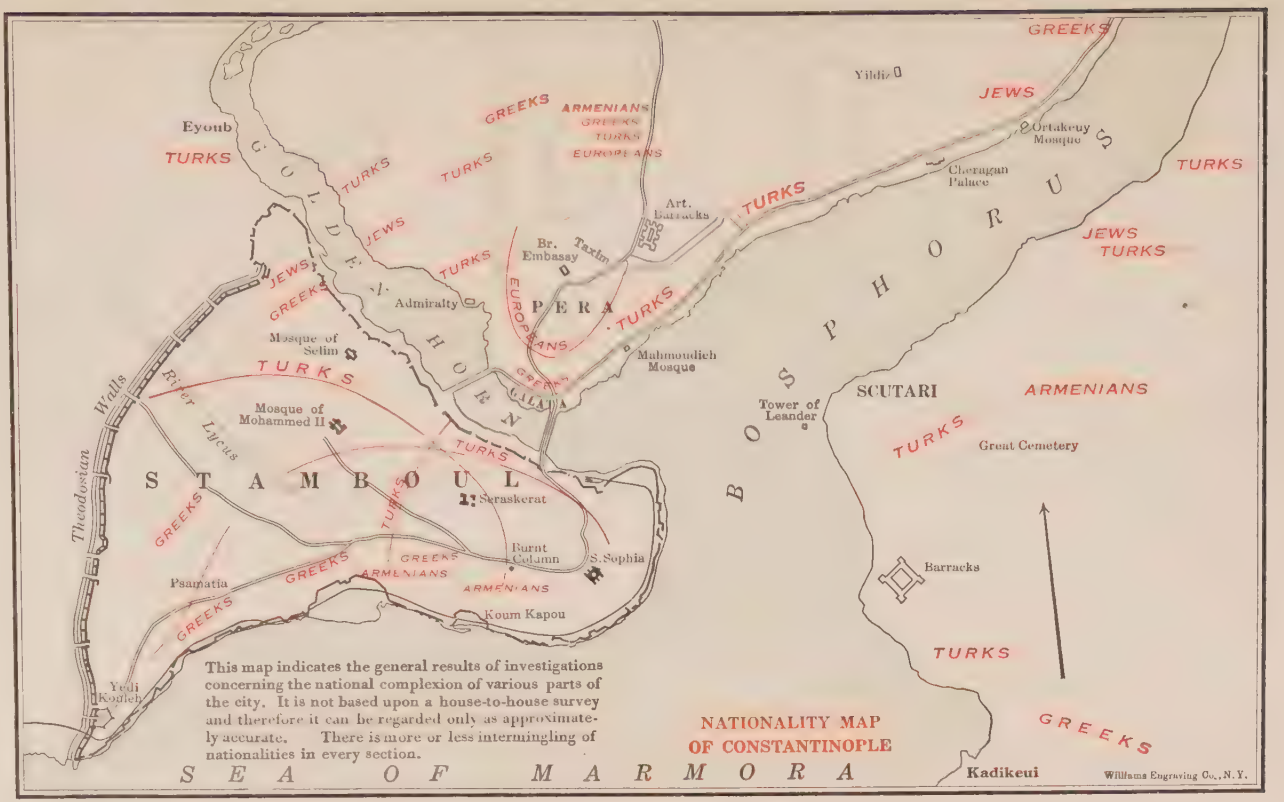
It has not been possible to secure an accurate estimate of the number of Jews in the city. The figure quoted in the *Asiatic Review* (January, 1919) as of 1912 is 44,765.

All nationalities are at present seriously embarrassed in any effort to estimate population by the large numbers of floating and refugee population and by the difficulties caused by the Great War. It is difficult also to determine exactly how large a territory is included in any given total estimate, unless very specific statements are made. Both shores of the Bosphorus and of the Marmora are famous suburbs of Constantinople.

It is perfectly apparent from these figures that three nationalities essentially have made Constantinople what it is to-day: Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. There is no other city in the world where so many Turks are at home. The same is true of both Greeks and Armenians. There are more Greeks in Constantinople than there are in Athens, Smyrna, or Salonica. There are more Armenians in Constantinople than there are in any other city.

3. Nationality Map of Constantinople

The accompanying map indicates the general results of investigations concerning the national complexion of vari-



Nationality Map.

ous parts of the city. Population in Constantinople does not readily shift from one section to another. Tradition as to residence section is very strong. The only considerable movement at the present day which has come to notice is the steady removal of Armenians from Stamboul to Pera and Shishli.

II. The Greek Community in Constantinople

1. Relationship between Ancient and Modern Greeks

Of the three leading nationalities of Constantinople—Turk, Armenian, Greek—the Greek alone claims kinship with the founders of the city. The men who first settled on the site in 657 B.C. were adventurous merchants from Argos and Megara near Athens. The city was generally known as Byzantium from Byzas, the Greek navigator who led the first Greek colonists. Its real importance in history begins with the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, who chose the Greek settlement on the Bosphorus as the spot where he intended to build the New Rome.[1] The name, Constantinople, refers to Constantine the Great.

From 330 to 1453 A.D.—1123 years—Constantinople was the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. It is common to think and speak of this as Greek. Historians imply, however, that we should not assume that the Greeks of Constantinople or even of modern Greece are blood descendants of the ancient Greeks. Finlay makes the following statement: "The modern identification of the Christian Greeks with pagan Hellenes is the growth of the new series of ideas disseminated by the French Revolution." [2] Finlay's editor, H. F. Tozer, calls attention to the fact that "until the commencement of the Greek revolution the name

[1] For a masterly description of the site of Constantinople, setting forth features which attracted both the early colonists and the ambitious emperor, see Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. II, p. 156.

[2] Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. V, p. 7.

of Hellenes was forgotten, that of Graikoi little used, and that of Romaioi universal." [1] He adds: "The educated, though they called themselves Romaioi and looked to the Byzantine Empire as the stock from which they sprang, were not altogether forgetful of a connection with the ancient people whose language they used." [2]

2. *Early Byzantium*

Until recent years it has been the habit of historians to undervalue the Byzantine period in history and to fail to see the important contribution which this period has made to the development of the civilization of the world. During the last half-century this contribution has been more justly appreciated.

In considering the influence of the Greeks in the political, social, and industrial life of Constantinople before the Ottoman Conquest in 1453, one is mainly interested in the period called in common parlance "Byzantine," when the Greek influence was predominant. This period extends from the accession of Leo the Isaurian in 717 to the conquest by the Crusaders in 1204. There is also the early Greek colony of Byzantium to consider, and the period from Constantine the Great (330) to the reign of Justinian in the early sixth century. We should think of this latter as more Roman or Latin in its character. From Justinian to Leo the Isaurian is a period of transition in which the Greek element is slowly making its way to the front in the empire.

Byzantium was founded by traders, and because of its superb position it was destined from its beginning to become a great trading city. This commercial stamp has never left it. It became rich through its trade and through the tolls taken from ships passing up and down the Bosphorus. The

[1] Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. V, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 7.

Greeks became luxurious in their life. The city was in a strategic military position, as well as in a good commercial location, so war often interfered with the expansion of its trade. Between the years 506 B.C. and 350 B.C. the city was taken and retaken six times by Medes, Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans, but never held for any length of time. With the advance of the Roman Empire it was for some time an independent ally of Rome. At the end of the second century A.D. in the struggle of Severus for the throne it was practically destroyed. In 323 Licinius was defeated by Constantine; in 328 Constantine chose the city as the future capital of the Roman Empire.

3. The New Rome

Though we may assume that Greek influence as a dominant force reasserted itself in the reign of Leo the Isaurian in 717, it is necessary to bridge the gap between Constantine and the accession of Leo by mentioning very briefly the social and economic changes which were taking place in the Empire.

The most important point to be noted is the gradual de-Romanization of the governing classes and masses of the population during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. In the fourth century A.D. the Roman hold upon the city was very strong. Latin was a language known to every official as well as to all educated men. All the machinery of the government was Roman. Even in the sixth century the knowledge of the Latin language was still universal among educated men. By the seventh century the Roman element was gradually vanishing. Justinian, in the sixth century, was the last emperor who spoke Latin as his mother tongue.

The second point to be noted is the growing power of Christianity in the Empire, showing itself in a decided attempt at social reforms. Gladiatorial shows are forbidden. Infanticide is declared a crime. Slavery is modified

and an attempt is made to stop immorality. The growing ascetic, monastic movement, in fact, weakens the resistance of the Empire to the attacks of the barbarians which in the later part of this period came fast upon it.

Last to be noted are the evils, especially of the later Roman period between Justinian and Leo the Isaurian, which left to Leo so difficult a problem. Prominent among these evils were depopulation, disorganization in the central government, anarchy in the provinces, and powerlessness before the invasion of the Saracens and the northern barbarians. Certain elements of strength must not be overlooked—the Orthodox Church with its unifying influence, the wonderful system of Roman law, and the gain in trade caused by the destruction of the Western Empire. The dense population of towns at this time made greater taxes and revenue possible.

4. The Byzantine Empire 717–1453

The period from Leo the Isaurian 717, to the Latin Crusaders 1204, is commonly divided into three parts.

The first period we may take as beginning with Leo III in 717, and ending with Michael III in 867. It begins with the repulse of the Saracens which meant the preservation of Roman law and the Christian Church. It embraces the iconoclastic struggle, which was essentially an expression of the desire of the emperors to increase the central power of their government, as much as a desire to purify the Church. Finlay says that "the true historical feature of this memorable period is the aspect of a declining empire saved by the moral vigor developed in society, and of the central authority struggling to restore national prosperity." [1] In this period a government was established which was to outlive any government contemporaneous with it.

The second period commences with the reign of Basil I

[1] Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. II, p. 9.

in 867, and ends in the deposition of Michael VI in 1057. During this time the throne was held by the Basilian family, whose sway was marked by the highest external power and the greatest internal prosperity which the Empire ever enjoyed. "The Saracens were driven into the plains of Syria. Antioch and Edessa were reunited to the Empire. The Bulgarian monarchy was reconquered and the Danube became again the northern frontier. The Slavonians in Greece were almost exterminated. Byzantine commerce filled the whole Mediterranean. The emperor of Constantinople was called the autocrat of the Mediterranean Sea. . . . Respect for administration of justice pervaded society more generally than it had ever done at any preceding period in the history of the world." [1]

The third period extends from the accession of Isaac Comnenus, 1057, to the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by the Crusaders in 1204. This is the period of the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire. It began with rebellions of the great nobles of Asia, who instigated revolutions in the Empire. Despotism was set up, people were ground down by taxes, the central government lost control, and justice was corrupted.

The Crusaders in 1204 ruined Constantinople, and from then until the conquest in 1453 its condition was deplorable. Life in the city during these centuries has been well discussed by Sir Edwin Pears in his "Fall of Constantinople." Chief among the evils which he notes are: first, the internal divisions among the Greeks; second, the difficulty of assimilating the conquered Balkan races; third, the depopulation by the "Black Death," leaving the city with a population of only 80,000; and fourth, the lack of popular voice in the government. Among certain good points to be noted are: first, the good administration of law and the preservation of the traditions of Roman law by Greek-speaking

[1] Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. II, p. 10.

lawyers; second, great interest in philosophical thought and in preserving and imitating classical writers.

5. Contribution of the Greeks to Civilization during the Byzantine Period

a. Politically

The Byzantine Empire kept alive the principles of order, stability, and continuity, when all about it, East and West, things were in a state of chaos. To be sure, the pages of its history were stained with blood. It had its periods of anarchy. It had none of the latent power of future development such as existed in the Frankish kingdom. It was strongly conservative. In this conservatism, however, lay its strength. It held most tenaciously to its inheritance from Rome.

The organization of the Empire was not entirely static. It adjusted itself to new problems, such, for example, as making the government more military and more centralized. Constantinople was able to keep this stability because, compared with the Western world, it was practically free from the barbarian invasions which had swept away all civilization in their advance. For five centuries the administration of the Empire, including its military and civil organization, remained continuous and effective under the same law, the same language, and the same religion. No better indication of the political stability and prosperity of the Empire and of its capital, Constantinople, can be offered than the fact that up to the time of Alexis Comnenus (1081) the Imperial Government was never bankrupt.

b. Economically

From the seventh to the thirteenth century Constantinople was the largest, wealthiest, and most splendid city in Europe. This is witnessed to by all travelers of the time. It had

almost exclusive control of Western commerce and a monopoly of the more refined manufactures and arts.

Bury tells us that the total revenue of the Empire in the Armorian period, ninth century, was the equivalent of 125,000,000 pounds sterling.[1] It had a finance ministry and treasury, a pure standard coinage accepted everywhere, and a commercial marine. Industries flourished in the city. The manufacture of silks, satins, and embroideries was almost a Greek monopoly. Diadems, scepters, robes, coins, and jewels of the early mediæval princes were all Greek in type, usually Byzantine in origin. The Greek emperors had their own factories for weaving, dying, and paper making. After the Crusades trade still further increased, but slipped out of the hands of the Greeks into those of the Genoese and Venetians.

Mr. Frothingham in the *American Journal of Archæology,* 1894, writes:

"The debt to Byzantium is undoubtedly immense:—the difficulty consists in ascertaining what amount of originality can properly be claimed for the Western arts, industries, and institutions during the Middle Ages."

c. In Learning and Education

One of the traditions which the Empire inherited from antiquity was that of higher education. "Illiterateness was a reproach among reputable people; and the pursuance of literary education by laymen generally and women, was a deep-reaching distinction between Byzantine civilization and the barbarous West."[2] Names of great teachers and scholars stand out. For instance, that of Photius in the ninth century surpasses not only all contemporaries, but all Greeks of the Middle Ages. He "gave an impulse to classical learning, which ensured its cultivation among the

[1] Bury, "History of the Eastern Empire," p. 220.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 434.

Greeks till the fall of Constantinople." [1] The ninth century witnessed a renaissance. The cultivation of learning among the Saracens, especially at Bagdad, had its influence among the Greeks at this time. In the eleventh century we have a reorganization of the University of Constantinople, which had been founded by Theodosius II, and allowed to decay under the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties. There was an awakened interest in zoology, botany, mineralogy, and geography, and a series of Greek writings and treatises on these subjects. The study of geometry and astronomy was kept alive. Leo VI in the ninth century lectured on geometry in the school of the forty martyrs at Constantinople, and wrote an essay on Euclid.

In a literary way the Byzantine period produced nothing original, because of its enslavement to ecclesiastical traditions, and also to classical traditions, but "we owe to them and to their tenacity of educational traditions an inestimable debt for preserving the monuments of Greek literature which we possess to-day." [2] The preservation of the language and archæology of Greece is one of the indispensable services of Byzantine literature. From the fifth to the fifteenth centuries there took place a gradual renaissance in Western Europe due more or less to the "infiltration" of ideas from Constantinople.

d. Law

In the Empire there was systematic preservation and study of law. The use of the "Corpus Juris" of Justinian had nearly died out in the West. In Byzantium it was kept in translation, and taught in the school of law. During the seventh century bad conditions had brought about a decline in the study of law. Leo the Isaurian revived it, and interpreted it more humanely. The great advancement of the

[1] Bury, "History of the Eastern Empire," p. 447.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

Byzantine Age occurred during the rule of the Basilian dynasty. The publication of the "Basilica," in sixty volumes, about 809, was on a par with the "Corpus Juris" of Justinian. It was a systematic attempt to compile a complete code based on Roman law, but reformed according to the influence of Christianity and the changing ideals of society. It still forms the basis of civil law for Christian communities of the East and for the Greeks. Great social improvement is shown in it; concubinage is discountenanced, laws of divorce are better, and the position of woman is advanced. A new school of law was founded by Constantine Monomachus in the middle of the eleventh century.

e. Art

The Byzantines from the fifth to the eleventh centuries preserved the traditions and led the development of art. In the age of Justinian in the sixth century, with the building of St. Sophia, a model was set which was preserved in other buildings by the Greeks. Types of decoration were developed in Constantinople at this time. The art of mosaic, and especially of glass mosaic, had its origin here, and from here was carried to Europe. In the end superstition and conservatism stifled the minor arts. Among those which survived were the carving of ivory and the illuminating of manuscripts. There are illuminated Byzantine manuscripts now in European museums executed for the Greek emperors in the ninth and tenth centuries, that are superior to anything in Western Europe before the fourteenth century.

In the Greek Empire of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries on the Bosphorus we may trace, then, a civilization which, though it contained many evils and the seeds of disease, yet was truly great. Bury sums up his valuation of this greatness in these words: "Throughout the Middle Ages till its collapse at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Eastern Roman Empire was superior to all

the states of Europe in the efficiency of its civil and military organization, in systematic diplomacy, in wealth, in the refinements of material civilization, and in intellectual culture. It was the heir of antiquity, and it prized its inheritance—its political legacy from Rome, and its spiritual legacy from Hellas." [1]

6. The Greeks under Turkish Dominion

Authorities living in Constantinople in 1425 estimate the population of the city at that time as "about seven times ten thousand." There was considerable emigration from the city on the part of non-combatants. On the other hand, shortly before the fall of the city in 1453, the conscription of villagers for the defense of the capital probably made up for all losses by emigration.

Five thousand Greeks and two thousand non-Greeks made up the fighting forces under Constantine Palæologos, the last Emperor. The clue which these figures give toward an estimate of the total population would tend to confirm the statement above. Byzantius is not to be believed when he says that in 1453 the population was 200,000.[2]

Critoboulos makes the statement that 4000 men were killed by the Turks at the time of the conquest and 50,000 prisoners were taken, most of whom were released on ransom. Other historians place the number of prisoners at 60,000.[3]

Mohammed found a desolate city. His first move was to repopulate it. He issued proclamations inviting all refugees to return, especially those who had fled to the Morea and to Adrianople. The city was captured May 29, 1453. Before September, according to Doucas, "thousands of families were inscribed." Immigrants were sent to Con-

[1] Bury, "History of the Eastern Empire," p. 427.
[2] Byzantius, "Constantinople," vol. III, p. 296.
[3] Cf. Paspates, "Fall of Constantinople," p. 197; Schlumberger, "La prise et le sac de Constantinople," p. 393.

Photograph by Resne

View from the Eyoub Cemetery Looking down the Golden Horn

stantinople from regions conquered later. Many came from Halkis, the Peloponnesus, Trebizond, and Sinope. The sultans following Mohammed continued this practice. Thus, for instance, Selim I (1512–1520) "levied on the conquered city (Tabriz) a contribution of a thousand of its most skillful artisans. These were sent by him to Constantinople and received houses and the means of carrying on their respective manufactures." [1] The most important booty which the same Selim brought back from his expedition to Egypt was a host of craftsmen from Cairo. In the time of Süleiman (1521) the two Belgrade settlements were founded, one in Constantinople and one in the Derkos district, with immigrants forcibly brought from Belgrade. Neither military service nor child tribute was required of the Greeks in Constantinople, the reason being the Government's desire to develop its capital.

Immediately following the conquest, Mohammed II established Gennadios as Patriarch of the Greeks, confirming his rights and privileges as a patriarch in much the same way as had the emperors. This practice still continues. This method of administration by partially autonomous communities is a very important feature of life in modern Constantinople. It is the chief reason for the lack of social cohesion throughout the city. People sense their loyalty to their community as such and not ordinarily toward their city as a whole. As noted elsewhere this feature of government was borrowed from Persia.

Greeks were often employed by the Ottoman rulers as interpreters. Panayotaki Nicosion was the chief interpreter at the fall of Crete, 1669. Alexandros Navrokordatos was chief interpreter at the making of the treaty of Carlowitz, 1699. His sons, Nicolas and Icannis, were chief interpreters at the making of the treaty of Passarowitz, 1718. In the terrible year 1821 Stavrakis Aristarchis was the

[1] Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks," vol. I, p. 225.

chief Greek interpreter for the Turkish Government (cf. Epaminondas Stamatiades "Biography of Prominent Interpreters of the Ottoman Empire," published in Greek only, 1865).

The Greeks have translated a considerable number of books into Turkish. We note especially books dealing with military science; for instance, the books of Wauban translated in the time of Selim III.

Under the Turks the Greeks of Constantinople have excelled in commerce and industry. They have maintained to a large extent their position as merchants which they held during the Byzantine centuries. Industry was organized according to trades. Each trade had its own guild with special rules and a well-developed sense of community interest. Each guild chose a patron or a saint. For instance, the furriers regarded the prophet Elijah as their patron.

A Greek architect, Christodoulos, built the Mosque of the Conqueror, and numbers of buildings connected with it in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The beautiful mosque of Süleiman the Magnificent was decorated by a Greek. The graceful Laleli Mosque was built in 1760 by a Greek architect, Constantine by name.

During the sixteenth century certain descendants of the royal families of the Byzantine Empire were government contractors of one kind or another. The Kantakouzinos family, the Palæologos family, the Ralli family, shared such contracts as the farming of taxes and the furnishing of provisions. Manolakis, who was a patron of the Great School of the Greeks, was a fur merchant who supplied the royal palace in the seventeenth century.

Rizos Manes was a famous Greek physician of the eighteenth century. Dr. Emmanuel Timonis made certain experiments with inoculation for smallpox, the results of which he communicated to Lady Montague and to Dr. Woodward. Marko Pasha, a Greek, was director of the

Imperial Medical School for many years. Xenophon Zographos was private physician to Sultan Abdul Mejid, as Spiridon Mavroyenis was for Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

The city has never been without its Greek bankers. The names of Zarifi, Koronios, Syoutas, Stephenovik were famous during the eighteenth century. A well-known Greek firm, "Kastellaria," operated till 1866 at Valide Han in Stamboul.

7. *Evidences of Greek Influence in Modern Constantinople*

The casual visitor to Constantinople who is not alert to detect evidences of Greek life and influence in the modern city, will hardly gather the impression that it is in reality a great center of Greek life. He will notice many Greek flags and Greek names on ships, big and little, in the harbor; he will hear Greek spoken on every ferry, tram, and in most streets; he will see many Greek school children coming and going; he will notice several Greek newspapers on the newsstands; he will be constantly reminded of the commercial activities of the Greek merchants, particularly the small shopkeepers and wine dealers; but he will measure the full scope of Greek influence only where he begins systematically to probe deeper.

After 475 years of Turkish rule the Greek complexion of the city has well-nigh disappeared. Of 400 Byzantine churches in the city at the time of the conquest only 50 can be identified to-day. One alone is in use by the Greeks as a church (Mouchliotissa), one was assigned to Armenians for worship, one is used to house a Turkish military museum (St. Irene); the remainder have been converted into mosques. The Latin occupation of the city from 1204 to 1261 caused irreparable loss to the Greeks, and what the Latins failed to despoil the Turks have utilized for their own purposes. But if the visitor goes from one Greek school to another, if he visits their churches, their clubs, their banks and busi-

ness houses, their steamship offices and hotels, if he makes the acquaintance of Greek editors, artists, clergymen, educators, literary and professional men, he will gain a truer impression of the Greek community in the city.

III. The Armenian Community in Constantinople

1. The First Armenians—Priests and Soldiers

The ties which bind Armenians to Constantinople are not political. Constantinople has never been an Armenian political possession. The few Armenian emperors during Greek domination were not representatives of Armenian political ambition, but rather exponents of Armenian capacity, for which a much harassed fatherland had failed to provide adequate opportunity of expression.

The most reliable traditions regarding the first Armenian settlements in Constantinople are given by the Armenian historians, Movses Khorenatzi, Gorun, and Giragos. In the time of Gregory, the Illuminator (fourth century), under whose leadership the Armenian nation accepted Christianity, communication with Greek ecclesiastics in Constantinople began. St. Sahag, St. Mesrob, and some of their pupils were sent to the Agomidian convent in Constantinople to study Greek, so that they might translate Greek theological treatises into Armenian. The Greek patriarch, Addigos, conferred on St. Mesrob the title Agomid. A little later St. Mesrob went to Athens to study philosophy under David Anhaght (David the Invincible).

During this fourth century Armenian military representatives also were sent to Constantinople. Armenian merchants from the western region of Asia Minor began to drift into the Greek capital, so that by the fifth century approximately 5000 Armenians were living there. Relations between the Armenians and the Greeks were most cordial.

It is recorded that 2000 Armenian soldiers participated

with the Greeks in repelling the assaults of the Tatars from the north under Attila. This occurred during the last quarter of the fifth century. There is evidence to the effect that Armenians living in Constantinople ordinarily spoke Greek and not Armenian. They frequented the Greek churches in the absence of their own. They were well assimilated into the Greek life of the city.

2. Social Amalgamation with Greeks—Fifth to Eighth Century

From the fifth to the eighth century communications between Armenia and Constantinople were so easy, and the advantages of trade and culture so attractive that the Armenian population of the city rose from 5000 to 10,000. This was a period when there was considerable immigration from Armenia westward into the large Greek cities of Asia Minor—Cesarea, Sivas, etc. It is significant of the good relations between the two peoples in Constantinople that the Armenians in the capital during these centuries had neither a special district assigned to them nor separate churches. As already intimated they commonly spoke Greek. The nationalistic fever had not seized them.

When the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches occurred, the Armenians in Constantinople very plainly sympathized with the Greek Orthodox Church, although as a class they stood for liberal tendencies. The agitation of the question of church allegiance, however, resulted in large numbers of the Armenians allying themselves with the Greek Orthodox Church. Representatives of the Orthodox Armenian community exist at present.

3. Retarded Growth of Colony—Ninth to Fifteenth Century

The separation of the Eastern and Western Churches, 1054 A.D., brought about a reaction on the part of the

Armenian Church unfavorable to the Greeks. The celebrated Armenian Patriarch, Nerses Shnorhali, came to Constantinople to confer concerning the great ecclesiastical question, but with no favorable result. His return marks the close of communications between the Orthodox authorities and those of the Gregorian (Armenian) Church. The Armenian colony in Constantinople had in reality never achieved outstanding religious or ecclesiastical importance. In that colony the ruling interests were those of the commercial classes. Three noted Armenian emperors ruled in the Eastern Roman Empire, but without particular significance for the Armenians as a nation.

In addition, two other reasons are responsible for the slow growth of the Armenian colony in Constantinople between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries. During these centuries Armenia was well-nigh completely absorbed with its relations, sometimes peaceful, sometimes hostile, with Persia. Such emigration as there was out of Armenia moved largely into Persia. In the second place, an Armenian Patriarchate had been established in Jerusalem. This turned the eyes of Armenians toward Jerusalem rather than toward Constantinople. The Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople dates from the time of Mohammed II. The circumstances of the origin of the first Armenian church and ecclesiastical organization which existed previous to the time of the Conqueror have not been clearly traced. An Armenian manuscript of the Mukhitaryantz monastery in Vienna refers to the church of St. Sarkis in Constantinople as existing in the fourteenth century. We know that the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1430 was represented by Yesaiyi of Constantinople who was an *aratchnort* of the Armenian community. As early as this also the Cilician Armenian Catholicos had a representative in the capital, Bishop Hovhannes. Twenty years or more before the capture of the city by the Turks, a merchant named

Gorus or Gozma, of Kefe in the Crimea, laid the foundation of the St. Purgitch Gregorian Church in Galata. He solicited contributions from brother merchants. A district in Galata near Kara Geumrük is called the Kefe district. Hither Armenians from the Kefe region were wont to congregate. The early religious leader of this community was Bishop Hüsik.

4. Armenians at the Time of the Ottoman Conquest

An Armenian monk of Pera wrote a description in poetry of the capture of the city, entitled "Maghakia." In the course of this poem of one hundred and fifty lines, he alludes to the fact that Sultan Mohammed brought Armenian emigrants from Angora to Constantinople. The Armenian colony in Constantinople seemed quite insignificant in size to the Conqueror, yet partly because he recognized their good qualities and partly probably for political reasons, he sent to Brousa for Bishop Hovagim, whom he recognized as the first Armenian Patriarch. He caused many Armenian emigrants to come from Brousa and its environs. They were settled in Galata near Kara Geumrük and were called the "six communities." A little later the Armenians were given the Greek Church "Soulou Monastir" in Psamatia. At the end of the fifteenth century the number of Armenians in Constantinople had reached 25,000. They proved themselves readily adaptable to the prevailing Ottoman customs, learned and used the Turkish language, and distinguished themselves as industrious and useful subjects.

5. Armenian Interests 1500–1750

The great majority of the 40,000 Armenians in Constantinople about the year 1550 were immigrants or the immediate descendants of immigrants from cities in Western Asia Minor, such as Sivas, Angora, Konia, and Brousa. They were for the most part tradesmen, artisans, and work-

men. The third Armenian church community came into existence about the middle of this century, St. Sarkis, a church near Topkapou. This church was built by the Armenians themselves. We have no record of any Armenian schools or academies at this time. Few Armenians continued to speak Armenian, and with the laying aside of their language they laid aside their provincial and national customs in large part, and accepted Turkish habits and speech.

Carpentry, blacksmithing, goldsmithing, tailoring, and banking passed increasingly into the hands of Armenians. Armenians held the government bakery contracts; a large proportion of the employees in the luxurious establishments of Turkish pashas were Armenians, especially from Van and Erzroum. There were numbers of Armenians in the Janissary Corps. Immigration to the metropolis steadily increased. The settlements of Armenians in Armash, Chengiler, Kourdbelen, and Baghchejik, towns near Constantinople, were made by people from Sivas. The Armenians of Tekirdagh (near Gallipoli) trace their origin to emigrants from Kemakh. Scutari and Yenimahalle Armenians are of Moush origin, for the most part.

The Armenians established a printing press in Constantinople in the early seventeenth century with the apparent purpose of aiding religious controversy among themselves. The Catholic Armenian community was growing; an Armenian bishop, Yeghiazar, from Aintab, Cilicia, was stirring up religious discussions. A certain Yeremia Chelebi Keumürjian had his own private printing press from which he issued fifteen or more works, translations and originals.

Armenians claim as a renegade the great architect Sinan Kalfa, who lived and worked so successfully in the time of Süleiman the Magnificent. His masterpiece, the Süleymanieh Mosque, is one of three hundred mosques which he built.

Balat, a section of the city near Phanar on the Golden

Horn, was becoming more and more a rendezvous for wealthy Armenians from Asia Minor. A group of them purposed to promote the building of churches for the growing Armenian community. St. Hreshdagabed in Balat was constructed, or rather was the result of the remodeling by Armenians of an ancient Greek church. Other churches were built in Scutari and Ortakeuy.

Psamatia was a prosperous Armenian section of Stamboul. Emigrants from Cilicia usually settled here, whereupon it was called in Turkish Karaman Mahallesi. The patriarchal seat was here for two centuries, being removed about 1650 to its present location in Koum Kapou, where St. Mary's Cathedral was constructed. Among others, emigrants from ancient Arri and Egni in Armenia settled at Koum Kapou.

Armenians established a convent in Scutari called "Hokedoun." This convent became the rallying point for scholars. A library of considerable value, containing some manuscripts, was built up. Religious controversy between the Armenian Gregorian and Armenian Catholic bodies developed into a bitter struggle, which culminated in the kidnapping of the Armenian Patriarch Avedik and his exile to France, where he died in a convent prison.

The Armenian Bible was first printed in Constantinople by Bedros Ladinatzi in 1705, although a first edition had appeared at Amsterdam in 1666. Armenian national spirit and energy expressed itself during this century in the founding of convents. Nikhtar Abba of Sivas with the help of the Government of Venice founded St. Ghazaros in 1717. This was designed to be an academy for Turkish Armenians and a means for perpetuating the Armenian language. Two important Armenian men in the life of Constantinople, Hovhannes Golod and Sheghtagagri, sprang from the Amrdolou Convent in Anatolia. The former became Patriarch in Constantinople, the latter in Jerusalem. Hovhannes Golod as Patriarch was able to calm the controversy

with the Catholics. He stood for intellectual progress, opened a school for the training of the clergy, and cultivated good relations with the Turks, notably the Grand Vizier Raghib Pasha.

Armenians rose occasionally into posts of governmental importance and were then known as "Amira." The "chief changer" at one time was an Armenian (Seghpisteos). The Armenian population of Constantinople in 1715 is estimated at 70,000.

Because of the influence of Venice and Armenians who had settled there, Italian became the most commonly studied European language among Constantinople Armenians. There being no public schools, only the children of wealthy Amiras received systematic education. This consisted for the most part in the study of the Armenian, Italian, and Turkish languages.

Armenians had a worthy share as builders of important buildings. The Nouri Osmanié mosque was built by Minas Kalfa in 1748. The Süleymanié garrison was built by Baba Krikor Amura Balian.

Armenian merchants and bankers made their chief headquarters in a large khan called Karavanserai. Into their hands were given large responsibilities in connection with the financial side of the Ottoman military campaigns, in the management of which many Armenians acquired great wealth. For two hundred years the Imperial Mint and the goldsmith work of the imperial family were in the charge of the Catholic Armenian family, Duzian. Among other noted and wealthy families, the Cæsarea Armenians were most famous. Immigrants continued to flow into the city, coming at this period especially from Persia and the Van region. The choirist, Balatagan Kevork, prepared a Persian dictionary for these immigrants. It is estimated that by 1750 the Armenian population of Constantinople numbered 100,000.

6. Stirrings of National Consciousness—1750–1825

The controversy between Gregorian Armenians and Catholic Armenians, ever dormant, grew acute when questions involving a united Armenian community arose. A period of intense nationalism developed with the agitation stirred up by the causes of the French Revolution. During this period many nations developed a keener national consciousness. Armenians in Constantinople shared this common experience. They were stimulated by the appearance in 1784 of Chamchian's three-volume Armenian history. This history had a profound influence on Armenians, serving to awaken their national consciousness and to promote an interest in history and in education in general. Armenian philology became a live subject. Interest in learning both Armenian and other languages developed. Iknadios Mouradjadohsen's "History of Eastern Nations" (two volumes), written in French, had a similar effect in so far as it dealt with Armenian history.

Early in the nineteenth century Armenian intellectual life in Constantinople was greatly stirred by the productions of the Armenian Mukhitarian Press of Venice, notably a "Geography" by Akontz Appa in eleven volumes; a "Translation of Roman and Archæological History" by Rolen; and "The Archæology of Armenia" by Injejian. Another aspect of the national awakening showed itself in increased religious interest. Church union and church reform were live subjects. Through the favor of American missionaries, four hundred Bibles published by the Armenian Press in Venice were distributed largely in Constantinople. One effect of these Bibles was greatly to stimulate common education and the study of the Armenian language. The first public school among the Armenians was opened by Shnorhk, one of the wealthy Armenians of the city.

The sons of wealthy families were the only children to

receive instruction beyond the simplest, after ten years of age. Most boys of eleven were apprentices in goldsmithing, tailoring, stonecutting, masonry, or blacksmithing. These were the industries in which Armenians excelled. Armenian goldsmiths were almost as famous as Armenian money changers. One gathers an impression of their handwork on rambling through the goldsmith section of the Grand Bazaar even to-day. The art of printing on thin muslins was also one in which Armenians acquired skill and fame (Kalemkiar work or yazmajilik). The best work in that line to-day is done by Armenians.

The backbone of Armenian prosperity in Constantinople was the business of the Armenian money changers, or, as we would say, bankers. The Armenian "Amiras" were indispensable to the higher Ottoman officials. During the reign of Selim III (1789–1807), when venality in public office was so common, the business of the money lenders was of considerable importance. As a class the money lenders possessed great power. Creasy summarizes the situation thus:

"It was seldom that the Turk, who intrigued among the officials and court-favorites at Constantinople for a Pachalic, was possessed of the necessary purchase and bribery-money. He usually borrowed the requisite sums from one of the wealthy Greeks of the Phanar, or from one of the Armenian bankers. The lender of the money became in reality the mortgagee of the Pachalic; and he may be said to have been a mortgagee in possession, inasmuch as his confidential agent accompanied the Pacha as secretary, and was often the real ruler of the province. As usually happens when a few members of an oppressed race purchase power under the oppressors, these Raya agents of Moslem authority were the most harassing and merciless in their policy towards their fellow-countrymen. The Pasha, under the necessity of repurchasing his appointment at the end of each year, was prevented, in ordinary cases, from shaking off this financial bondage. Sometimes, before an appoint-

ment could be obtained from the Porte, it was required that one of the Sarrafs, or Armenian bankers, should become surety for the due transmission of the imperial revenue." [1]

As a class the Armenians were clever, industrious, adaptable, and eager to receive and promote Western ideas in industry, commerce, and education. A list of noted names among them would include the Zadayantz family, one of whom was "gunpowder master" for the Government, and the Balyantz family, of whom Krikor (1770–1832) became famous for his architectural skill. Sultan Mahmoud II (1808–1839) commissioned him to construct several palaces, the Selimiyé garrison and other important buildings. Other members of the Armenian aristocracy also achieved considerable influence with the Government. Many of them maintained ambitious establishments in Scutari, Hasskeuy, Ortakeuy, Koum Kapou, and Balat. Armenian writers attribute the ultimate loss of influence and wealth on the part of the Armenian aristocracy to their failure to persist in supporting a widespread scheme of public education.

The Armenian population of the city at the turn of the century is estimated at 100,000.

7. *Revival of Learning among Armenians—1825–1855*

Protestant missionaries from the United States found the Armenians in Constantinople the most approachable of the people in the city. The first Armenian high school in Constantinople was established at Koum Kapou in 1827 by Krikor Peshtimaljian, a learned and devoted man who owed many of his ideas to the Americans. A Protestant school was established in Pera in 1834. Evidences of the progressive spirit among Armenians center chiefly in their struggle for schools. Under the prevailing system of the

[1] Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks," vol. II, p. 318.

Ottoman Government, education was a matter very largely left in the hands of the authorities of each nation.

The Armenian aristocracy (Amiras) were slower to appreciate the value and necessity of popular education than were less prominent people. The movement for education gained momentum in spite of, rather than because of, the wealthy class. A national higher school was established in Scutari in 1839. Armenians generally regarded this school as a training ground for national leaders. It suffered from interference by wealthy conservatives. Disputes over its management ultimately resulted in the organization by the Ottoman Government of two national councils for the Armenians, or one council with two sections: The Religious Council and the Civil Council (May 6, 1847). The director of the high school in Scutari was the editor of an Armenian newspaper. It continued under the name of "Haiyastan" until 1852, when it was called "Masis."

Under the general impulse of reform which was sweeping over Turkey, a good many Armenians began to find their way to Europe for advanced studies, in medicine and art particularly. Hovhannes Bey Dadlian was one of the most famous of these. In 1832 he had succeeded his brother as director of the Sultan's gunpowder factory. He made several trips to England and France for advanced study, and on his return exerted a remarkable influence in introducing European methods of manufacture. He stood high both with the reforming Sultans, Mahmoud II and Abdul Mejid, and with certain European societies such as "The Oriental Society of Paris" and "The Society to Promote Art" in London.

In 1850 there were thirty Armenian churches in Constantinople. In connection with most of these there were schools. Special higher shools were maintained at Psamatia, Haskeuy, and Scutari. In addition to the simplest

branches, these schools provided instruction in Armenian literature, French, mathematics, philosophy, and in some cases, English.

Armenian merchants began to enter new fields. By 1855 ten Armenian firms were importing cloth from Manchester and other points in England. The Crimean War gave a great impetus to foreign trade. The demand for manufactured goods steadily rose. Armenian merchants were among the first to take advantage of the new conditions. Leadership among Constantinople Armenians gradually passed from the hands of the aristocracy to the hands of merchants.

The study of Italian steadily gave way to the study of French and English. Influences issuing from the French Revolution and related movements moved French literature and nationalism into the foreground of thought. Voltaire, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and other French authors were being translated into modern Armenian. The reading of such books and the steadily increasing contacts with Europe along all lines, led to the wide adoption of European (à la Franka) clothing and to a more or less serious imitation of European customs and manners. Similar influences issue unfavorably for the Armenian bankers. This class of people endeavored to maintain their prestige and position through consolidation. Two companies were formed—an Anatolian and a Roumelian. They were entrusted with large tax-farming contracts, but owing to faulty methods and increasing competition by European firms, the Armenians gradually lost their dominant position as bankers.

8. Political Action and Reaction—1855–1921

The Crimean War marked the beginning of a new era for residents of Constantinople. The Armenians were quick to react to the new conditions in business, politics, and education. Contacts with the West multiplied rapidly.

The momentum toward progress which was characteristic of the reigns of Mahmoud II (1808–1839) and Abdul Mejid (1839–1861) made the Armenians very happy. They were increasingly prosperous. As a nation they were the most responsive to new currents of life from the West. Their progressive democratic spirit is well attested in their reorganization of their community system in 1860, whereby the Ottoman Government approved a constitution providing for the election of a National Assembly, consisting of one hundred and forty representatives under the presidency of the Patriarch. Educational, religious, and other non-political questions came before this body. Under its leadership and inspiration the press, schools, and philanthropy were steadily developed and liberalized.

The election of Mugerditch Khrimian as Patriarch at Constantinople in 1870 marked the approach of a climax of awakened national interest. Khrimian, as Bishop of Van, had turned the minds of Armenian young men especially to the glories of ancient Armenia. By his sermons and books he was doing what the poet, Alishan, was doing by his lyrics. The Shahnazar Noubaryan High School in Haskeuy, Constantinople, came to see in their Patriarch, Khrimian, the visible symbol of a glorified national life. Armenians to-day look back upon the years 1865–1875 almost as a "golden age" of national prosperity. As a matter of fact, it was a "golden age" of hope. Young men went to Europe for study; Armenian writers multiplied; many masterpieces of French and English literature were translated; schools were gowing in efficiency and number; rigid religious customs were adjusted to an easier observance; and a sense of security and hope filled the air.

The war with Russia (1876–1878) opened a political door. Three delegates, chosen by the Armenian National Assembly, were sent to the Congress of Berlin. The now famous sixty-first article dealt with Armenia.

The hopes of Armenians, founded on Article 61, frightened Abdul Hamid II. He set his will to curb and crush these national hopes. Rigid censorship of the Armenian press and an intricate spy system were the tools nearest at hand. Discontent grew under stern measures of steady repression, especially in the provinces. The Armenian Patriarchs, one after another, were placed in very difficult positions. The "Hunchak" Society, secretly organized in 1888, was the channel for the natural protests of the more restless Armenian spirits. The "Tashnagtzagan" Society, secretly organized in 1895, pursued similar aims along somewhat different lines. Violence was resorted to in the effort to weaken Abdul Hamid's cruel purpose. His answer was carefully planned—widespread massacres of Armenians in 1895 and 1896. In 1895 10,000 Armenians of Constantinople were killed. Estimates of those who perished throughout the country vary from 50,000 to 500,000. The Armenian population of Constantinople, including the Patriarch, was helpless. The nation bowed before the terrible storm. Its life was crushed. Schools and newspapers were stifled. Tyranny had its way everywhere. Temporizing, opportunist measures were the only policy that could be followed during the aftermath of the storm. Gradually privileges were regained, but not until 1908 was there any real rebirth of hope.

The story of events since the re-granting of the constitution in 1908 is fresh in mind. Abdul Hamid's attempt to regain authority in 1909 bore heavily on the Armenians in Cilicia, when 20,000 or more perished as in 1895 and 1896. Blasted hopes and the sense of insecurity caused many thousands of Armenians to leave Turkey. Even Constantinople, the most secure spot in the Empire for Armenians, had few attractions for them. The Great War brought still greater suffering in its train. Owing largely to the natural affiliations of the Armenians with the Entente

Powers, they were made the object of special measures which nearly succeeded in exterminating the whole nation.

IV. Constantinople the Capital of the Ottoman Empire

1. The Beginnings of the Struggle for the City

Four hundred and sixty-eight years ago the 29th of May, when Mohammed II entered it in triumph, Constantinople became the capital of the Ottoman Empire. One hundred and fifty years earlier Osman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty and empire in 1288, had dreamed of the day when Constantinople should be the Ottoman capital. Early Ottoman writers attach great importance to a dream in which Osman saw an "all over-arching tree; and every leaf of that tree was in shape like unto a scymetar. Suddenly there arose a mighty wind, and turned the points of the sword leaves towards the various cities of the world, but especially towards Constantinople. That city placed at the junction of two seas and two continents, seemed like a diamond set between two sapphires and two emeralds, to form the most precious stone in a ring of universal empire. Osman thought that he was in the act of placing that visioned ring on his finger, when he awoke." [1]

Osman first encountered a regular Greek army in 1301. Muzaros, the commander of the guards, was sent against Osman by the Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus II, with a formidable army. The defeat he suffered at Koyounhissar in the vicinity of the modern Izmid, marked the beginning of the struggle for Constantinople. The important city of Brousa fell to the Turks in 1326. They made it at once their capital. Izmid was occupied the same year. Nicea, the modern Iznik, at that time second only to Con-

[1] Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks," vol. I, p. 10.

stantinople in importance in the Greek Empire, surrendered to Orkhan, Osman's successor, in 1330. By 1336 nearly the whole of the northwest of Asia Minor was included in the Ottoman Empire.

The Byzantine Emperor Andronicus III resorted to the arts of peace in his effort to stay the progress of the Turk. He gave his daughter Theodora in marriage to Orkhan. For twenty years there was peace until the Greeks and the Turks became involved in a war between the Genoese and the Venetians, one main arena of which was the harbor of Constantinople. Orkhan sent a force to support the Genoese who were settled in Galata, while the Greek Emperor aided the Venetians. The Turks took advantage of the confused situation and made a permanent settlement on the European side of the Dardanelles (1356). From this as a base their armies soon overran Thrace. Adrianople fell into their power in 1361 and was made their capital. The Greek armies were steadily forced back upon Constantinople. Bayazid I (1389–1402) was the first Ottoman who actually besieged the city. In 1393 he built the towers on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus at the point now known as Anatoli Hissar. He did not succeed in capturing the city, but his efforts so filled the Greeks with terror and dismay that they were glad to treat with him.

2. Early Ottoman Inhabitants of Constantinople

It is customary in the Moslem world to base a judgment as to the size of a community on the number of mosques maintained by that community. In the absence of anything approaching census returns, it is interesting to note that the mosque which Sultan Bayazid I caused to be built in Constantinople was the fourth to be built in the city. Centuries previous, three Seljuk sultans had exerted enough influence to lead to the erection of mosques, one in the name of each. That these mosques ministered to comparatively

small communities may be inferred from the fact that along with the mosques which Sultan Bayazid I built, the peace treaty between himself and the Greek Emperor allowed for the establishment for the first time of a court for Moslems and an imamate or chancery.

We must not imagine that any great good fortune attended the life of the Turkish community in Constantinople previous to the conquest by the Turks in 1453. Their welfare depended largely upon the fortunes of the Greek Emperor in his contests with the Turks. As the tide of conquest surged about the city, the Greek Emperor used the colony as a pawn in the game of endurance. Thus when he came to terms with Bayazid I in 1396 he agreed to give the Turkish colony (1402) certain rights. No sooner had Bayazid fallen under the stroke of Timur in Anatolia than the Emperor gave the Turks in Constantinople twenty-four hours in which to leave the city on pain of death. As the Ottoman recovered and recommenced his triumphs in Thrace, making it only a question of a short time when he should envelope and capture Constantinople, the Greek Emperor became more indulgent and affected some concern for the welfare of Turkish colonists.

This concern was all the more natural in view of the fact that as the hinterland of the capital passed into Turkish hands, the sources of food supply for the city were seriously menaced. The Turkish colony, which according to Evliya Chelebi numbered approximately 20,000 in 1396 (in all probability an exaggeration), was a very important factor in the matter of provisioning the city. The business of the small tradesmen, butchers, grocers, and dealers in country produce gradually came into the hands of the Turks, because of their ability to maintain more easily steady relations with the outlying districts. This fact gave the Turks a foremost position in the economic life of the city.

Following the attack upon the city by Bayazid I in 1396,

the Turks were too fully occupied defending and consolidating their empire both in Europe and in Asia to concentrate again on Constantinople. It was not until 1422 that an Ottoman army again appeared to storm those historic walls. Mourad II (1421–1451), incensed by the intrigues against his sovereignty which the Byzantine Emperor started by releasing Prince Moustafa, a pretender, approached with 20,000 picked troops. For three months the Turks attacked with great persistence and skill, but in August were satisfied to retire, attributing their failure to an appearance of the Holy Virgin. Mourad hastened to Asia Minor to quell an insurrection under another pretender, and on his return did not renew the siege, but made a treaty by which the Greek Emperor agreed to pay annually a tribute of 10,000 ducats, and to surrender certain important military positions on the River Strania and the Black Sea coast. For the remainder of his reign Mourad was busy extending his empire into Hungary, Macedonia, and Greece.

3. Mohammed the Conqueror—1453

Mohammed II received his title of "The Conqueror" from the fact that of the Sultans it was he who succeeded in becoming master of Constantinople. The Prophet Mohammed is said to have foretold the conquest of the city by the faithful. The tradition runs "Ye shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted." The siege was begun on April 16, 1453. A Turkish army numbering probably about 200,000 together with three hundred vessels made up the attacking forces. Two dramatic events stand out among the many which bore directly on the final result. The Turks executed a master stroke when they succeeded in transporting an important part of their war fleet from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn. A huge chain, part of which can be seen to-day in the military museum near St. Sophia, pre-

vented the passage of their ships up the Golden Horn from the Bosphorus. Mohammed resolved to take his ships overland.

"An extraordinary feat it was but it was splendidly performed. A narrow canal was dug, paved, and set with rollers. The point of starting was between Tophaneh and Beshiktash, out of the range of the fort at Galata. Thence between two and three miles up the valley of Dolma Baghche, the seventy or eighty ships were drawn by night up the hill of Pera to the point where now the gardens stand just below the Hotel Bristol, and thence down the hill to the bay of Kassim Pasha where now stands the great Arsenal." [1]

The other dramatic event which greatly aided the Turks was the finding of the tomb of Abu Eyoub. This man, long revered as a saint by both Greeks and Turks, was one of the Ansari (helpers) of Mohammed the Prophet. He took part in the third Arab attack on Constantinople in 48–52 of the Hejira (670 A.D.), and was buried beneath the walls. The discovery of his tomb by Mohammed, during his attack on the city nearly 800 years later, stirred the religious zeal and fanaticism of his followers to an irresistible pitch. The gallant defenders of the city were unable to hold out very long. The end came on May 29th, when scenes of indescribable joy and horror marked the close of more than a thousand years of Greek rule in old Byzantium.

4. Outline of Ottoman History

Analysis

Von Hammer, the greatest historian of Ottoman fortunes and misfortunes, divides their history into seven periods, bringing it down as far as 1774.

"The seven great periods into which the course of the Ottoman Empire from its foundation till the Treaty of Kainardji divides itself are these: first, that of its rise from its foundation to the capture of Constantinople;

[1] Hutton, "Constantinople," p. 144.

second, that of its growth by conquest from the capture of Constantinople to the appearance of Süleiman the Legislator; third, that of its greatest development under the reign of Süleiman and that of his son, Selim II; fourth, that from the commencement of its decadence under Mourad III to the time when the sanguinary politics of Mourad IV restored it temporarily to its former splendor; fifth, that of total anarchy and disorganization to the time of the first Keuprülü; sixth, that of the fresh impulse which it took under the administration of the Keuprülü family statesmen up to the treaty of Carlowitz; seventh, that of its decadence made known to the world by that treaty, and of the active intervention of European politics in the affairs of the Empire up to the treaty of Kainardji." [1]

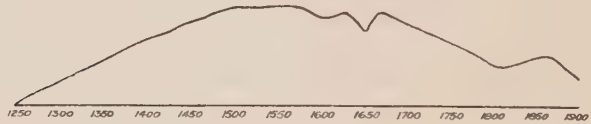
One might bring Von Hammer down to date by adding four periods. The eighth would cover a second great period of anarchy from the treaty of Kainardji to the accession of the first reforming sultan, Selim III; the ninth would cover the efforts of the reforming sultans from Selim III to the dissolution of the first parliament under the constitution by Abdul Hamid II in 1878; the tenth would embrace the years of reaction and tyranny under Abdul Hamid II until he reaffirmed the constitution in 1908; the eleventh would include the activities of the Young Turks as the power behind the throne, reaching their climax in their control of Turkey during the World War.

Summarizing these periods, we might chart the course of Ottoman history in this fashion.

Foundation and Consolidation Osman I to Mohammed II	1288–1453
Growth and Glory Mohammed II to Selim II	1453–1574
Premonitions of Weakness Mourad III to Mourad IV	1574–1640
Anarchy and Insurrection Ibrahim and Mohammed IV	1640–1656
Arrested Degeneration Mohammed IV	1656–1688

[1] Von Hammer, "Histoire des Ottomans," XVII, p. 33.

Disaster and Decline Süleiman II to Moustafa III	1688–1774
Disorganization and Anarchy Abdul Hamid I	1774–1789
A Century of Reform Selim III to Abdul Hamid II	1789–1878
Reaction and Tyranny Abdul Hamid II	1878–1908
The Rule of the Young Turks Abdul Hamid II to Mohammed V.	1908–1918



Synthesis

More important for our purpose than the detailed analysis of any one particular period or all the periods, is the effort to get a bird's-eye view of the development of Ottoman history as a whole. If we take under consideration the entire period from 1288 to 1918 and seek to discover the lay of the land, we note two main features. The dividing line between these two features, like that of any landscape, is more or less obscure. The passing from one into the other is very gradual. The change which comes over Ottoman history during the last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth may be characterized as acknowledgment of the essential failure of the Asiatic régime and the acceptance of the necessity of more or less conformity to European standards. For more than four centuries the Turks had been masters in their own house. Their sway was scarcely challenged. They occasionally tolerated but they never respected foreigners and their governments. Russia first brought them to their knees. As the result of a long struggle, in the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774 they for the first time were forced to acknowledge their inability to maintain the old standards of contempt for foreign powers. From that time forward

the question with them was, not how they might impose their will on foreign nations, but how they might avoid the humiliations which foreign nations were forcing upon them. From that time to the present day Europe has been making steady inroads into Ottoman life. No aspect of life has escaped the pressure of the West. Ottoman literature, art, education, science, philosophy, manners and customs, trade and industry, and least of all, politics and the science and art of government have been gradually though very slowly, laboriously, and in many cases, unwillingly yielding to Western ideals. The process is far from complete. It will be many decades before Constantinople will be thoroughly Europeanized. The Great War has hastened that process. Constantinople's life is bound up as never before with the life and civilization of Europe and the West. Some day some great event may mark the beginning of a third great period since 1288, during which the Ottoman people, having mastered the best that the West has to offer while retaining the genius of their worthiest Oriental traditions, will come into their own.

Summary

In the outline as given above the first six periods, covering roughly the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries—half a millennium—fall under a heading which might be phrased: Period of the Supremacy of Asiatic Ideas. During these centuries Ottoman sovereigns acted as Oriental despots whose roots were deep in Asia. The following four periods covering the nineteenth and a generation of the eighteenth as well as of the twentieth century, fall under a heading which might be phrased: Period of Attempted Adjustment to Modern European Ideas. During this epoch Ottoman sovereigns were facing a situation in which they could take their choice between complete destruction, or a serious attempt to join

the European family of nations in deed as well as in name. A full statement concerning these two epochs would lead on the one hand to studies in the sources of Ottoman culture, and on the other to studies of the efforts of Ottoman sovereigns and people toward internal reorganization. Both of these subjects are vitally related to the social life of Constantinople to-day.

5. Sources of Ottoman Culture

The social characteristics of Ottoman culture present a striking contrast to the ideals and practices of the dominant types of culture in the West. One who lives among the Turks cannot but feel that he is in another world of thought. Points of view, standards of action, habits of thought, and presuppositions regarding propriety and custom seem very strange. To say that the main differences are those of religion, language, and social inheritance, is true enough, but that statement does not carry one very far. Foreigners in Constantinople all too often act as if the people they find here, and not they themselves, with their Western customs and social traditions and cultural presuppositions, are "strange." It is easy to fail to appreciate the fact that people here have had a great complex past, in contrast with which the history of European and American culture is simple. A foreigner's first duty is to make a serious effort to understand the sources and characteristics of his new cultural environment. A real effort to understand would tend to make hasty and unkind misjudgments less frequent.

There are good reasons, for instance, why the Ottoman Turk has loved war and conquest. He has never been afraid to shed blood. The old Tatar habit of rough and ready rule made conquest the life of a nation. "A Turkish tribe could maintain a political organization and a compact grouping only by war; without benefits from pillage and

tributes, it would be obliged to dissolve and to disperse by clans, whose factions would group themselves anew, and form another nation about the strongest man." [1] The Tatar is the "rough rider" of Asiatic history, strong in the virtues of life in the open, where to live means to fight.

How readily this trait and its consequences can be traced in Ottoman history! The first ten sultans built up a wonderful empire by conquest. War was their official business. And let us note that it was not necessarily war against Christian nations. Persia and Egypt, Moslem nations, suffered just as well as Hungary and Servia. When the Ottoman sultans ceased to make conquest their first concern, and prepare for it accordingly, the Empire began to dissolve. The only way to keep an army contented is to give it something hard to do. It is not easy to demobilize a victorious army. The Ottoman armies for centuries were never completely demobilized and were eager to set forth each spring for new fields to conquer. To refuse to support them or to attempt to restrain them was folly, if a sultan wanted to maintain his empire.

Closely connected with the love of conquest, for which clans would group themselves around a promising leader, is the tendency which magnifies leadership and minimizes individual initiative. "Reversing the customs of other peoples, with the Turks it is the king who feeds his people, who clothes them, who pays them." [2] Initiative in Constantinople rests with the Government. It has always been so. The Government is there to do for its people what should be done; the people are not there to do for themselves. How often in this or that social question, people in Constantinople make it clear that they feel wholly dependent upon the Government! Public opinion or private

[1] Cahun, "Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols," p. 79. Quoted by Lybyer, "The Ottoman Empire during the Time of Suleiman," p. 19.

[2] Cf. Cahun, as above.

initiative seems out of place. "What is the Government for?" the bewildered ask. Western tradition makes private initiative and public opinion largely responsible for many vital functions. "How little may we leave the Government to do and not how much," is the Western motto. This has never been true of Central Asia. The social obverse of this is noteworthy. The Turk knows how to obey. Given a strong central government, discipline whether of army or people is an easy matter. Speaking of the great Grand Vizier Keuprülü Mohammed, Hutton observes:

"With him began the age of the Great Viziers, who for a time revived the glory of the Turks. He showed with severity that he intended to rule; and the Turks have always submitted to one who knows how to command." [1]

There are good reasons also why tradition should be the strongest social force among Turks in Constantinople to-day. Tradition rules in trade, tradition rules in religion; its hold on manners and customs has been slightly weakened during the last century, but Turks as a whole are backward- and not forward-looking. One might as well propose to stand on the island of Yap, and with a ten-foot fishing rod catch all the fish in the Pacific in one year, as to propose to revolutionize the rule of tradition in Constantinople in the same space of time. "The Tatar, possessed of the tenacious conservatism of a primitive people, predisposed the Ottoman to a close adherence to custom—to the doctrine that when a thing has been done once in a certain way, it should always thereafter be done in the same way." [2] This fact constitutes at once a blessing and a peril. The social worker who fails to consider it a blessing overlooks the necessity for cohesive forces, and he who fails to consider it as a peril will soon slip into the quagmire of the worship of things as they are.

Many of the features of Ottoman life, which cannot be

[1] Hutton, "Constantinople," p. 186.
[2] Lybyer, "The Ottoman Empire during the Time of Suleiman," p. 19.

dwelt upon here, spring from their Tatar ancestry. When the Tatars came into contact with Persia and Arabia they gradually through centuries acquired a vast new kingdom of thought and habit. Their language was greatly enriched, they accepted Mohammedanism as their religion, and they began to develop a system of law. The Persian especially gave the Turk ideas of government. For instance, the Ottoman system of allowing subjects who adhere to an alien religion to govern themselves in large measure, is a Persian legacy of the greatest social consequences in Constantinople to-day. The Arabs have given the Ottoman Turks a complete religious, legal, and social system. One cannot begin to comprehend life in Constantinople to-day, without digging into the world of Mohammedan thought and Mohammedan tradition taken straight from the Arabs. The Ottoman Turks learned the method of the Janissary system from the Seljuk Turks at Bagdad. This has had a most astounding social influence on the life of Constantinople. It has made human life seem cheap.

From the Byzantine Empire the Ottoman Turks learned many of the refinements of ceremony and governmental organization. The feudal system, and ideals in stately architecture as revealed in St. Sophia, were other important gifts.

Thus with Constantinople as a center of Ottoman life, the present has grown out of a far-flung, complex past. An excursion now and then into its byways helps a modern, foreign resident of the city to be more just and charitable in his judgments and more hopeful in his outlook.

6. *"Our Spirit." A Modern Ottoman Interpretation of Ottoman History* [1]

"In order to be able to govern a community well, it is necessary to have understood it; in order to understand it,

[1] Translation of an article entitled "Our Spirit," written by Jenab Shehabeddin Bey, Professor of the Turkish Language and Literature in the University of Stamboul. This article appeared in a Constantinople daily paper, *Peyam-Sabah* (*Morning News*), January 31, 1921.

it is necessary to know its spirit. I take it that up to the present our spirit has not been analyzed. This is a very broad subject for investigation. As a brief introduction to it, I offer this rough draft of an essay.

"This is certain: we belong to a people originally nomad shepherds. For example, like the primitive Germans, the property of our ancestors consisted in flocks. Being under the necessity of searching for pasture, they had no permanent centers of life. They were satisfied with a camp instead of a house, and in the place of heavy household effects, they contented themselves with huge saddle bags and meager supplies which were easy to transport. In this way they passed on to us the instinct to go lightly laden. It can be said that even to-day you will not find a Turkish home without its travel boxes.

"Our ancestors, like well trained shepherds, were dexterous, devout, imaginative, and openhearted. Because they managed flocks that were always obedient to them, they became accustomed to authority. It is a well-accepted sociological principle that the customs of ancestors constitute the most important of the factors which determine character. The fact that our ancestors were accustomed to authority has created in us a 'tendency to tyranny.' I remember a saying which I used to hear frequently twenty or twenty-five years ago: 'An Abdul Hamid burns in the spirit of every one of us.' And we see every day that those who reach places of authority among us act somewhat like shepherds, and treat the people somewhat as if they were a flock of sheep. I have not yet seen in our country a government which, except under pressure and necessity, challenges thought, explains its policies, and calls for an expression of popular will from us in one way or another, as if we were men. When the subject is looked at in this light, the yoke of the past appears to hang on our necks with all its burdensomeness.

"Neither the palace nor the Divan at any time demanded thought, shrewdness, and intelligence from the people. Their sole and perpetual demand was obedience. They expected from us immeasurable, unending, and universal tractability. This constant obedience has become a very bad mold for our spirit. In our most liberal judgments a

form of servitude can be detected. Our minds cannot draw a deep intellectual breath; and our intellects are not commensurate with the liberty demanded by our hearts.

"If you look closely, our history is six centuries of tyranny. The pyramid of government from top to bottom was an apparatus of oppression. It quite flattened out the Turkish soul whose exaltation was its holy task. Every official stamp is a pollution of the spirit of the people. Our feelings with reference to the rulers of our affairs can be summarized in a few words: the state of being cowed. We recall that one name of a subject was 'slave.' In reality, bad government has stamped us a little with the spirit of the slave. We were accustomed to mistrust and deception and, although outwardly pleased with the government, at the bottom of our hearts we were critical. Our historians are interpreters of popular sensibilities: 'Under a layer of deceit a deep ocean of contempt,' they say.

"Upon these original endowments there were grafted on to our spirits in succession three civilizations: the Seljuk, the Moslem, and the Byzantine. The Seljuks had brought to Western Asia the civilization of the Persians with whom they had been in contact for a century and a half. In their life and art there was a strange Persian flavor. They spoke Turkish but they wrote Persian. Among the Seljuks as among the Persians, Islam had assumed the form of mysticism.

"Ertoghroul Bey and our ancestors who were with him naturally were influenced by this Seljukian civilization which was originally Persian. Thinking it poor and contemptible, they did not deem the language which they had brought with them from Central Asia suitable for official correspondence and for literature. Our language was left open to Persian words without rule or limitation. Along with Persian thought and literature a tendency to emphasize details had its influence on our spirit. We lost the power to master the general form of the intellectual and artistic aspects of our life, as a shepherd surveys a landscape. Our minds were seeking both beauty and truth in elements and details.

"Our poets, disregarding the thought structure of a poem,

exhibited diffused and disordered art in its couplets and hemistichs. Structural beauty was sought, not in the general make-up of our buildings but in their interior designs and detailed ornamentation. The beauty of our music also was found in simple melodies rather than in the harmonious movements of music. In painting, even, principles of art inspired by Persia were prevalent. There was no science of perspective; there were no rules of arrangement; there was no eloquence of exposition; the only beauty held in honor was that of very fine lines and acrostics.

"On the other hand, the influence of Moslem culture began to be felt in court and sanctuary. Our vocabulary was thrown open to Arabic words for the sake of law and religion. Our intellect remained under the discipline of Arab learning.

"After we entered Constantinople we found ourselves in contact with Byzantine civilization. The Byzantine legacy was a mixture of good and evil. For example, on the one hand, well-filled libraries, advanced fine arts, lofty sages, and wise historians were found. On the other hand, superstitions, lethargy, superficial culture, a paper government, moral indulgence that was open to criticism, bribery, legal delays, the arrest of justice because of hair-splitting distinctions—in short, there was a long list of administrative evils and social excesses. As the result of folly, consisting in a too forgiving spirit, we let Byzantine libraries and museums of thought escape to Venice and Florence. The only good and beautiful thing which remained to us from that hoary civilization was the architectural style of places of worship. But over against this good how much evil we have gained from our Byzantine inheritance!

"Neither Persian, nor Arab, nor Byzantine civilization was suited to our character. For in our minds there is no great aptitude for minute philosophizing like the Persians, nor for fine analysis like the Arabs, nor for devotion to æsthetics like the Byzantines. The Turks are an active folk. Like the English and the Romans they could excel in the field of activity and achievement. In our veins there was a wealth of life. This ought to have been discovered and directed toward fruitful efforts. Bewildering success was promised to the Turk in agriculture, commerce, and in-

dustry on land and sea. The object of our attention ought to have been science and art, especially their practical aspects. Our old leaders misunderstood progress. They fancied that a far-flung kingdom of territory would assure general happiness. They dissipated the life of the nation in ceaseless warfare.

"Our worthy religion—suited as it is to every type of worldly progress, every development, and every phase of evolution—in the hands of extremely conservative men suspicious beyond reason, became, so to speak, a thickened and congealed social factor. We could not sufficiently realize the comfort arising from the breath of civilization which fills Islam. Some forbidden things were emphasized in an excessive degree, and some lawful things were abused. For example, on the one hand women were imprisoned in ignorance and blindness, on the other hand decorated dungeons, consisting of fifty or sixty rooms, were opened for women under the name of Pashas' harems. The one was abuse of the veil, the other was abuse of concubinage.

"We have heaped upon the path of our history a mass of the ruins of things that have vanished. We ought to have bound these together in a unified system; we could have done this by the grace of Islam. We did not do it. Our countrymen have lacked cohesion. This land of ours has been too early stopped up with a mass of the sediment of division. We left to other elements duties which were suited to the native ability of the Turk. We allowed the Turk to become intoxicated with his political supremacy, and we yielded to the flaccidity of Byzantium. The faithful and persistent Turk grew laxer and laxer.

"If the Turk had received an historical training suited to his temperament, like the English, he would have been a model of persistence and perseverance, and he would have been as devoted to national traditions. Our ancestors followed a single purpose for centuries without faltering. Today any movement which continues for a few months shakes us like a disease. Afterwards giving way to some other movement, it disappears. I can assert that every movement among us grows old before it reaches maturity and leaves no trace in its path.

"Our national traits are, in a word, negative. Living

in the present we do not really master the present, let alone live through the past. For every one of us history begins with his swaddling clothes and ends with his tomb. We are not subject, as it were, to time and place. Sons destroy what their fathers built, and no one thinks about the founding of a spiritual structure which shall be the dwelling place of conscience for our race. At the same time all of us imagine that we are laying foundations, and what we call a foundation is such a house of cards as is built in the morning but torn down by the wind in the evening.

"Our connection with the past is this only: we bear the torture of our long line of forefathers. We have no definite plan based on the experience of history. Once in a while in our political actions, well-thought-out phases appear but you never see a phase tested by life. If you probe a little into our administrative policies that seem most fundamental, you will find their roots suspended in emptiness; as if the freedom that is necessary for administration is to be found in such emptiness.

"Finally, the spirit of the Turk has received an historical training which has overwhelmed his character, because of the mass of ruins with which he has come in contact. We have wanted without selection to make use of the products of civilization which have come to our hands. The spirit of the Turk has been urged on in directions contrary to its capacity.

"Worthy aspects of our nature have not been allowed to develop. We have been able to exhibit a puny, hybrid civilization. If we had followed a line of development congenial to our original endowments, the social calamities which we have experienced would have been each one a lesson in regeneration, and our life in general would have become a line of shrewd progress. What use is it that the fine dough which makes up the spirit of the Turk has been kneaded by unskillful hands!"

7. Social Characteristics of Early Ottoman Stamboul

Before we turn to the second phase of our immediate topic, we may well pause to consider certain outstanding

social aspects of Turkish life in Constantinople during the period 1453–1774.

This was the period of militant, aggressive Orientalism in southwestern Europe. Constantinople was the hive around which the Ottoman armies swarmed. At no time during this period did the Sultan depend upon foreign countries for the production of war implements or supplies. Everything was made in or near the capital or brought with levy after levy of troops from the provinces. The business of the capital was war and its contributory arts. It has not been possible to arrive at any exact estimate of the percentage of the population of the city who were directly connected with the business of war. One eminent living Ottoman historian has made the statement that, excluding the Moslem clergy, rank and file, fully ninety per cent of the people were vitally related to military preparations or operations. The experience through which Europe and America have recently passed can make vivid to us to what extent war becomes the concern of an entire nation. A little further reflection will make equally evident the grooves into which the psychology of a people will be pressed during decade after decade and century after century of war.

During the course of a recent lecture on Ottoman literature, a professor in the University of Stamboul asked his hearers to contemplate the fact that the longest holiday from war, civil or foreign, which the Ottoman people had had previous to 1839 was a portion of the reign of Ahmed III 1703–1730. Twenty-five years of that period were called the "Tulip Period," when tulip bulbs were imported by the ton from Holland to plant in the gardens on the Bosphorus. Ottoman life reacted so quickly to peace that statesmen began to chide the Sultan on the softness and flabbiness of life in Constantinople.

The administration of the government was in the hands of the Janissaries. They formed a ruling caste apart from

any kinship connection with the people of the city. No distinction could be made between civil and military government; it was all the rule of the sword. Through all these centuries there was a comparatively small percentage of the people who by any reasonable interpretation could be said to exist and toil except for war. This fact is strikingly emphasized by the information received in answer to the question, "What trades have been especially developed by Turkish artisans?" Seven occupations are enumerated: building, penmanship (including illumination of books), manufacture of all kinds of weapons, engraving and inlaid work, pottery and tile making, the making of all kinds of leather products, and weaving. If one eliminates from this list weapon manufacture, weaving, and the making of leather products, which largely have to do with war preparations, it will be seen that the remainder group themselves about the construction and beautifying of the great mosques for which Stamboul is justly famous. The answer to another question, namely, "What have been the main interests since the conquest of Constantinople of the Turks who were not directly connected with the civil, military, or religious administration of the country?" leads us to confirm the conclusion stated above, that comparatively few people of the capital were engaged in commerce or other occupations which could in any real sense be divorced from the business of war.

The picture which we get of Ottoman life in the city of Constantinople during the period of the supremacy of Oriental despotism, is that of a vast military and naval base, buzzing with war industries, not of factory but of guild organization, unrelieved in its intensity and severity by anything except the grace and beauty of these slender minarets and those massive domes. And yet these touches of another life and landscape were made possible only by the wealth which the sultans brought with them on their triumphal returns from foreign conquest.

8. Efforts to Renew the Bases of National Power

After nearly five centuries of Oriental despotism evidences of a changing point of view began to appear. The attitude for these five centuries had been that of contempt for Europe and all things European. The Ottoman Empire neither desired nor respected Western conventions. It was all sufficient, self-contained. It was only through a long process of bitter experiences and disappointments in spheres where it had always regarded itself as supreme, that the Ottoman Government came finally to the point where it was willing to confess its need of the West—and reluctantly to learn the language of appeal and welcome rather than fluently to use the language of scorn and contempt.

The modern Turkish official in Constantinople argues now something like this: "Why does not Europe treat us as if we were civilized? Do we not belong to the civilized world? Why does Europe dare to interfere in our private internal affairs? Are we not an independent, modern constitutional monarchy?" There is some difference between the psychology of such an official and one of two centuries ago when, for instance, without waiting to declare war against a nation, Turkey would throw its ambassador into prison and start a campaign.

This change has come about essentially because the Ottoman has realized that the old principle of conquest on which the nation was built up and constantly depended, is no longer practicable. It became a choice between attempting to conform to the practices of states which undertake to respect one another's territory and sovereignty, and the loss of national existence.

During the last century and a half three sultans, Selim III, Mahmoud II, and Abdul Mejid, have endeavored with greater or less consistency and success to bring about such changes in the country as would assure Turkey a per-

manent place in the European family of nations. Their efforts may be described as prompted by a sincere desire to renew the bases of national power. What Turkey had hitherto found in conquest, it sought now to find in self-development. As one ponders the whole process, the moral phases of the question become more insistent.

a. The Capitulations

The completeness of the change in the Turkish point of view is wonderfully well illustrated by the history of the Capitulations.

"The word [capitulations] belongs to mediæval Latin and signifies treaties with the conditions given under small headings. In its modern use as applied to Turkey it simply means treaties. It is the treaties or capitulations which create for non-Turkish subjects the exceptional position which they possess in Turkey." [1]

When Süleiman the Magnificent first accorded France in 1535 the right to administer the affairs of French residents, chiefly merchants, in the Turkish Empire, he did so with full recognition of the fact that it was manifestly unjust to govern Europeans according to the sacred law of Islam, but with no thought that he was thereby opening the door for any dishonor to Turkish sovereignty. He thought of foreigners from Christian countries as people with whom he ought not to be troubled. They were beneath his notice. He had already established the system whereby the Christian communities of the Empire were more or less autonomous within strict limits of power. He conceived of the new step, known as the drawing up of the Capitulations, as an unimportant extension of the same principle.

In the course of time capitulations with other nations were agreed upon. As foreigners multiplied, the situation grew more and more complex. As the Ottoman power

[1] Pears, "Turkey and Its People," p. 335.

weakened, the system grew more and more irksome to it. As early as 1832, the Government sought to curry favor with Europeans by claiming that the motive in the making of the Capitulations in the time of Süleiman was none other than altruistic. The Turkish document, Moniteur Ottoman, setting this forth is cited by Urquhart in his "Turkey and Her Resources" as follows:

"It has often been repeated, that the Turks are encamped in Europe; it is certainly not their treatment of strangers that has given rise to this idea of precarious occupancy; the hospitality they offer their guest is not that of the tent, nor is it that of the Turkish laws; for the Mussulman code, in its double civil and religious character, is inapplicable to those professing another religion; but they have done more, they have granted to the stranger the safeguard of his own laws, exercised by functionaries of his own nation. In this privilege, so vast in benefits and in consequences, shines forth the admirable spirit of true and lofty hospitality.

"In Turkey, and there alone, does hospitality present itself, great, noble, and worthy of its honorable name; not the shelter of a stormy day, but that hospitality which, elevating itself from a simple movement of humanity to the dignity of a political reception, combines the future with the present. When the stranger has placed his foot on the land of the Sultan, he is saluted guest (müsafir). To the children of the West, who have confided themselves to the care of the Mussulman, hospitality has been granted, with those two companions: civil liberty according to the laws, and commercial liberty according to the laws of nature and reason.

"Good sense, tolerance, and hospitality, have long ago done for the Ottoman Empire what the other states of Europe are endeavoring to effect by more or less happy political combinations. Since the throne of the sultans has been elevated at Constantinople, commercial prohibitions have been unknown; they opened all the ports of their empire to the commerce, to the manufactures, to the territorial produce of the Occident, or, to say better, of the

whole world. Liberty of commerce has reigned here without limits as large, as extended, as it was possible to be. Never has the Divan dreamed, under any pretext of national interest, or even of reciprocity, of restricting that facility, which has been exercised, and is to this day in the most unlimited sense, by all the nations who wish to furnish a portion of the consumption of this vast empire, and to share in the produce of its territory.

"Here every object of exchange is admitted and circulates without meeting other obstacles than the payment of an infinitely small portion of the value to the Custom-house. The extreme moderation of the duties is the complement of this régime of commercial liberty; and in no portion of the globe are the officers charged with the collection of more confiding facility for the valuations, and of so decidedly conciliatory a spirit in every transaction regarding commerce.

"Away with the supposition that these facilities granted to strangers are concessions extorted from weakness! The dates of the contracts termed capitulations, which establish the rights actually enjoyed by foreign merchants, recall periods at which the Mussulman power was altogether predominant in Europe. The first capitulation which France obtained was in 1535, from Solyman the Canonist (the Magnificent.) The dispositions of these contracts have become antiquated, the fundamental principles remain. Thus, three hundred years ago, the Sultans, by an act of munificence and of reason, anticipated the most ardent desires of civilized Europe, and proclaimed unlimited freedom of commerce."

During the nineteenth century the Ottoman Government took the position that the Capitulations ought to be abolished. Their continuance was regarded as an insult to Ottoman sovereignty. This was an attitude entirely consistent with the position which the powers of Europeans accorded to Turkey, following the Crimean War when Turkey was recognized as one of the European family of nations, but this only serves to emphasize the complete change in the Turkish point of view since the days of the great Süleiman.

At that time Asiatic Turkey was under the dominance of Asia, now of Europe. One of the first acts of Turkey as the World War developed in 1914 was to declare all the Capitulations void.

b. Changes under Selim III

Selim III (1789–1807) became sultan under most disheartening circumstances. The Empire had suffered a series of terrible defeats at the hands of Russia and Austria, and was thoroughly corrupt in its internal administration. Selim boldly undertook the task of reorganization. He seemed to have a very clear sense both of the nature and importance of reform. The measures which he attempted to carry out were fundamental. He fastened on three things as of supreme importance: administration, education, and the army. He encouraged the opening of new schools among all classes of his subjects. The Greeks especially took advantage of this. He introduced many changes in the administration of such questions as taxes, land, and ministerial responsibility.

Most important of all, he began the struggle against the degenerate Janissaries. By giving the artillery independent administration and a cannon factory to supply its needs, he set up a powerful rival. He was able in spite of much opposition to organize a little corps of troops consisting chiefly of renegades, who were drilled according to the European system. If he had been able to keep clear of conflicts following in the wake of the French Revolution, he would probably have accomplished much more than he did. The Janissaries brought about his downfall. "In 1807 Selim retired with dignity to the prison apartments, and there employed the brief remainder of his life, not vainly, in instructing his young cousin, Prince Mahmoud, afterwards Sultan Mahmoud, how to rule the empire; and in holding out his own fate as a warning against the weakness, which

the Sultan who would reform Turkey, must discard, in order to save both her and himself." [1]

c. Changes under Mahmoud II

For fifteen years or more after his accession Mahmoud II (1808–1839) was unable to continue Selim's policy of reform.

"As sole scion of the House of Othman, Mahmoud knew that he bore a charmed life. But he was obliged to yield, at least in appearance, to the demands of the victors. An imperial edict was issued in favour of the Janissaries. All the customs of the Franks, and all the late innovations were solemnly cursed and renounced; and the old system, with all its abuses, seemed to be reëstablished more firmly than ever. But there were men of thought and action among the Turks, who had seen all these things, and who saw in them only the sterner proof of the necessity of sweeping changes. They were obliged to think in silence; but they were preparing themselves for the time when their thought might be embodied in deed. Above all, the Sultan himself watched from year to year, as Amurath IV had watched under not dissimilar circumstances, for the hour and the means of ridding himself and his country from these worst, these home-oppressors of his race." [2]

Mahmoud was unable to stem the rising tide of defeats from foreign enemies, but he executed the master stroke on June 15, 1826, of ridding his capital of the whole body of Janissaries. In their place he consistently developed an army trained according to European methods. Among other important changes should be noted the edicts which deprived the pashas of the power of life and death, and which abolished the Court of Confiscations. The collections of taxes were regulated, and the Mohammedan system of religious endowments was brought under the supervision of the State.

[1] Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks," vol. II, p. 372.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

"The reign of Mahmoud (1808–1839) witnessed the first real introduction of Turkey into the atmosphere of the West. He had been trained by the deposed Selim to hate the Janissaries, to play the part, strange indeed, of a reforming Sultan. . . .

"From 1821 the tide turned. The defects of the Turkish Government did not avail against the valor of the Sultan's army, and the dissensions of Europe. The tragedies of those days passed far from Constantinople. Missolonghi, Navarino, Athens, Janina, Adrianople, are names that bring each its memory; but within the city of the Cæsars and the Sultans a different tale was told. It was the great era of reform, when at last Mahmoud was able to use his strength, and reëstablish the power of the Padishah.

"During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the authority of the Commander of the Faithful had sunk, decade by decade, till the murder of a Sultan who showed an independent policy was as certain as the sunrise. The Janissaries were the real masters of the city, and of the Empire. The force which had been raised to carry out the absolute will of the Sultan had now entirely superseded him. Anarchy was substituted for the rule of an irresponsible despot. But Mahmoud had a character of strength unknown in any Sultan for two centuries." [1]

"The aim of Mahmoud, indeed, was not unlike that of Peter the Great; he wished to make his State an integral part of the European system. Hitherto, admitted though she was into European politics, coveted as ally and dreaded as a foe, Turkey had occupied no place among the permanent factors of European politics. Mahmoud thought to make Turkey, really and essentially, a European power." [2]

d. Progress under Abdul Mejid 1839–1861

Turks of to-day frequently refer to *"The Tanzimat"* as marking the beginning of a new régime. They mean by this the series of reforms and changes which Abdul Mejid

[1] Hutton, "Constantinople," pp. 201, 205.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

endeavored to bring about. No sphere of life would have been quite the same had his edicts been carried into full effect. His main act, the edict known as the Hatti-Sherif of Gül-hane, issued in 1856, both confirmed and extended his earlier edict of 1839, in which he had guaranteed security of life and property to all subjects of the Empire, irrespective of race or creed.

From the present point of view this edict is to be reckoned as a long step forward. The régime of cruelty and despotism, pressing hard on Moslem and Christian alike, was over, on paper at least. The "inalienable rights'" of nations unrecognized in Central Asian society began to receive attention. The progress of these reforms was greatly accelerated by the activities and skill of "The Great Elchi," Lord Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador.

"Throughout the whole of his life in Turkey he kept his one aim steadily before his eyes, and never deviated from it. If Turkey could be saved he would save her; but it could only be done by carrying out what had been the real intention of Mahmoud the reformer, and making an Oriental despotism resemble a European government with constitutional guarantees for personal and religious freedom." [1]

We may note as an important phase of the work of Abdul Mejid his firmans regarding education.

"The advancement and improvement of public instruction have been the objects of many firmans, especially of the important edicts in 1846, which instituted a Council of Public Instruction, decreed the formation of a new University, overthrew the old monopoly of education possessed by the Ulema, and made the mektebs[2] (the schools universally attached to mosques, and therefore almost universal in the Turkish Empire) primary public schools, where useful knowledge is taught gratuitously. This great educa-

[1] Hutton, "Constantinople," p. 218.
[2] The proper word is *medresés.*

tional reform has met with many obstacles from the bigoted prejudices and opposition of those who considered that they had vested interests under the old system. Its effects cannot be expected to be immediately visible; but there can be no doubt of its beneficial character, or of its sure though gradual development among future generations of the inhabitants of the Turkish empire." [1]

Abdul Mejid also attempted to suppress the slave traffic by forbidding the importation of slaves into his dominions.

Among many other wholesome regulations governing the development of a modern army which Abdul Mejid encouraged, it is interesting to notice the provision authorizing the military service of Christians. First decreed in 1839, this did not go into actual effect till 1909. This delay of seventy years is a measure of the difficulty with which an Oriental despotism becomes a real member of the European family of nations.

e. Abdul Hamid II and the Young Turks

If Abdul Hamid had had the courage to continue the development of the reform of Mahmoud II and Abdul Mejid, which had been given a setback by the extravagance and frivolity of Abdul Aziz (1861–1876), he would have made it easier for all men to have deeper faith in humanity. He started out well by proclaiming a constitution and calling a parliament, but his essential cowardice led him into extreme reaction. In spite of the most repressive measures, the momentum of reform and the growing community of affairs with Europe and the West made life more worth while for all during his reign except for the unfortunate Armenians. The new wine of progress, with Europe as a toastmaster, could not be confined in the old bottles of Oriental despotism, even at the desire of the most tyranni-

[1] Creasy, "History of the Ottoman Turks," vol. II, p. 461.

cal of men. It is too early to judge whether Abdul Hamid's successors, the Young Turks, as a whole are to be rated as enemies or friends of real reform. This much is clear: Turkey has not yet found herself a substantial and a respected member of the European family of nations. It is interesting to note the growing influence of the West in certain related spheres of cultural life.

f. Architecture

The most noteworthy field in which Ottoman artistic genius has expressed itself is architecture. No one, the Turks themselves last of all, will deny the great legacy of the Greeks. It requires great genius to imitate great genius as successfully as the Turkish and Armenian architects imitated the Greek. The earliest imperial mosques are monuments of stately simplicity with no thought of a European touch. The time came, however, when the Ottoman architect worked with one eye on Europe. He dared not make his indebtedness to the rococo influence too evident, but it crept into notice in such structures as the Laleli Mosque, built by Moustafa III in 1760. Later on, toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the influence of Europe was still more evident in the styles adopted for the imperial palaces of Dolma Baghche and Cheragan, and many other public buildings.

g. Literature

Roughly speaking, the history of Ottoman Turkish literature may be divided into three great periods. During the century and a half from 1300 to 1450 dialectical difficulties were surmounted. In competition with many other dialects, Ottoman Turkish emerged as the dominant type. A few great masterpieces constitute the literary legacy of that period, marking the supremacy of Ottoman Turkish as the language of the Empire.

The second period of Ottoman Turkish literature extended from 1450 to 1850. During these four centuries Persian poets were the Ottoman models, both as to style and as to substance. One great Persian master after another had undisputed precedence.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Ottoman writers followed the prevailing fashion and turned to the West. French writers displaced the Persian. To what extent this was a conscious reaction against the past and a reasoned effort to assimilate European literary standards, is a question worth careful study. It serves our present purpose to note the fact of the transfer of allegiance from Asia to Europe.

h. The Press

The first Turkish newspaper, *Takvim-i-Vakai,* was established in 1831. This was the decade when newspapers began to appear in the Greek and Armenian languages also. It took some time to establish traditions and to perfect journalistic technic. Shinassi Bey, as founder and editor of the *Tasvir-i-Efkiar,* gave most effective expression to European influence in the new Turkey. Steady progress was the rule, until the reaction under the leadership of Abdul Hamid temporarily suppressed all that was hopeful and independent.

i. Law

With reference to law, we should note that the sacred law of Islam was the fundamental basis of the Turkish judicial system until the nineteenth century. The Mejellé, or civil code, was promulgated in 1859. Commercial and criminal codes as well as various codes of procedure were elaborated, largely on the basis of the Code Napoleon. This was an extension of principles already more or less in practice for foreign communities under the capitulations.

j. Education

We have already spoken of the development of schools under Selim III. This tendency grew stronger under Mahmoud II. He was systematic and energetic. His influence was widely felt in the effort to provide the capital with a new system of schools for popular education. Abdul Mejid was a worthy successor. It is interesting in this connection to recall that a School of Fine Arts has been established within the last fifty years. For a moment one wonders how a strict Moslem can adjust himself to a school which is given to promoting such arts as painting and sculpture. Under rigid Moslem rule no pictures, or any kind of likeness of the human face or form, were countenanced. The Moslem, however, who is interested in painting or sculpture, is usually energetic enough to find justification for his interest on some such principle of the Fikh as this, that whenever the cause for a certain prohibition is removed, that prohibition no longer stands.

9. Constantinople and the Present-Day Turk

The present-day Turk loves Constantinople. He frequently calls it "Istambol," but he has his post addressed "Der Saadet" or "Der Aliyé," the gate of happiness, the sublime gate. He sees in Constantinople the visible symbol of the power and prowess of his race. He trembles when he realizes that as a result of the Great War he may be deprived of this symbol. The more thoughtful would see in such a fate the condemnation of the Ottoman to an inferior stage of civilization, from which some serious but partially unsuccessful efforts to rise have been made during the last one hundred and fifty years.

The West thinks "Turk" when it sees a fez. The fez first takes the eye of the visitor. One does not see as many fezes to-day as he did ten years ago. Greeks and Arme-

nians of Ottoman registry are discarding it rapidly. The fez was the symbol of the reforms of Mahmoud II (1807–1839). Go to the mausoleums, and note that sultans' catafalques beginning with Mahmoud II bear a simple fez instead of a huge turban.

The most imposing mark of the Ottoman in modern Constantinople is without question the imperial mosques, those great cathedrals of rigid monotheism. An imperial mosque can be distinguished by the fact that it has two or more minarets. Six of these surpass all others on account of both their structure and location. By far the majority of the five hundred or more mosques and Moslem places of prayer of the city are located in the ancient section—Stamboul. Closely connected with the mosques are the imperial mausoleums. Twenty-nine of the thirty-six Ottoman sultans are buried in Stamboul. The mosques and the mausoleums, together with the medresés (mosque schools), the street fountains so varied and so beautiful, the kiosks and old palaces, and the great Oriental khans and covered bazaars give the city the right to be called an Oriental capital. The Ottoman traditionally recognizes two tokens of sovereignty—the money in current use must be that of the Sultan, and official prayers must include petitions for him. Turkish paper money is commonly used in Constantinople to-day and officially the Ottoman Sultan is included in mosque petitions.

To the fez and the mosque and the money must be added the black veil worn by Moslem women, the white turban worn by the Moslem clergy, the prevalence of Turkish newspapers, the Turkish language, and Turkish military forces and police.

One gets farthest away from Turkish life on the Grande rue de Pera, but since Mahmoud II built a bridge across the Golden Horn in 1836, a second being built a few years later, European Pera, Galata, and Oriental Stamboul have

been getting better acquainted with each other. That bridge was a symbol of Mahmoud's effort to join Europe. From that day to this Constantinople has been rapidly losing the distinctive traits which mark it as a Turkish city, but only in so far as it has been able to assimilate the worthiest European influences has it confirmed its hold on the "gate of happiness."

10. Minor Nationalities in Constantinople

Aside from the Greek, Armenian, and Turkish inhabitants of the city, there are other very important though minor elements. Lack of space forbids adequate consideration of them here. They may form the subject of later studies. We must call attention, however, in passing, to the fact that ever since the Spanish Inquisition thousands of Jews have made Constantinople their home. Sir Edwin Pears estimated in 1911 that there were 30,000. The figure now given out by the Grand Rabbinate greatly exceeds this. The Jews are for the most part poor and unprogressive, living at Haskeuy, Balat, Ortakeuy, and Kouzkounjouk, but there is a progressive and well-to-do element among them which has a real part in the commercial life of the city.

It would be interesting to make special studies of the Bulgarian colony, which numbers between four and five thousand, also of the Persians, Kurds, Albanians, Arabs, etc. Constantinople has ever been a social magnet drawing into itself all types of humanity, some for pleasure, some for profit, others for vice, and still others for refuge. The Byzantines and the Ottomans after them sought to develop their capital by drawing various elements toward it. Selim I (1512–1520), for instance, imported thousands of skilled laborers from Persia and Egypt. The inhabitants of the capital were not subject to military conscription until recent years.

Constantinople is Turkey, in a far greater degree than most capitals can be said to be the heart of their countries. The extreme centralization of government has been largely responsible for this fact. One incidental result is the picturesque and amazing cosmopolitanism in appearance, though not in spirit.

V. Three Common Historical Traditions of Constantinople

War, religion, or rather ecclesiasticism, and trade have through all the changes of government and population been the supreme interests of Constantinople since its foundation in 657 B.C. The traditions of trade are the earliest, those of war strike deepest, and those of ecclesiasticism give rise to the most bitter social divisions.

1. Militarism

Consider the sieges which the city has endured. Von Hammer enumerates twenty-nine. From 447 B.C., till the time of Constantine the Great it was besieged by Pausanias, leader of the Greeks (447 B.C.) after the battle of Platea; by Alcibiades (410 B.C.); by Leon, a general of Philip of Macedon (347 B.C.); by the Emperor Severus (197 A.D.); by Cæsar Maximus (313 A.D.); by Constantine the Great (315 A.D.). Thus early it was evident that he who would possess the city must be prepared to defend it. The Ottoman Turks have amply demonstrated the sound principle of military strategy that the best defense is an offensive move. Constantinople has too often proved a tempting prize to those who were able to seize it, or who possessed ambition greater than their preparation or prowess.

From the time of Constantine the Great to Mohammed the Conqueror, the city was besieged again and again: in

616 by Khosroes, King of Persia; in 626 by the Avar hordes; in 654 by the Arabs under Moawiya; in 667 by Yazid, the Arab; in 672 by Yazid, the Arab, a second time; in 715 by Maslama, brother of Caliph Süleiman; in 739 by Süleiman, son of Caliph Abdul Melek; in 764 by Paganos, Kral of the Bulgarians; in 780 by Haroun-ar-Rashid, who marched unopposed to Scutari with an army and got possession of a section of Stamboul by a clever trick; in 798 by Abdul Melek, Haroun's general; in 811 by Kramus, despot of the Slavi; in 820 by the Slavian Thomas; in 866 by the Russians, under Oswald and Dir; in 914 by Simeon, Kral of the Bulgarians; in 1048 by the rebel Thornicius; in 1081 by Alexius Comnenus; in 1204 by the Latin Crusaders; in 1261 by Michael Palæologus; in 1397 by Bayazid the Thunderbolt; in 1422 by Mourad II; in 1453 by Mohammed II. No nation whose armies have come within striking distance of Constantinople has failed to help her maintain her military traditions! Of those who have attacked the city eight commanders only have captured it; Pausanias, Alcibiades, Severus, Constantine, Alexius Comnenus, Dandolo, Michael Palæologus, and Mohammed II.

For more than four centuries after 1453 the city was unbesieged. This does not point to any weakening of the military tradition, but rather to its strengthening. The Ottoman has held it so firmly hidden in the depths of his empire that only in recent years has it been exposed again to threats of invaders. It has been the central military camp where armies without number have been equipped and sent gloriously forth. The Russians at San Stefano in 1878, the Bulgarians at Chatalja in 1911, and the British at Gallipoli in 1915 seem to have begun a modern chronicle of siege not more successful than the ancient.

In the East the past seems nearer the present than in the West. The Crusades occurred but yesterday. The

Cross stands not for peace but for war to the modern Moslem inhabitants of Constantinople, as it did to their mediæval Moslem ancestors. There on that crest stands the mosque of the Conqueror. The humblest Turkish Moslem feels a sense of pride in the achievement of Mohammed II.

The most successful sultans have been the fighting sultans. Historians of the Ottoman Empire, among them the latest Eversley ("The Turkish Empire"), note that the decline of Ottoman power is approximately synchronous with the refusal of the sultan to place himself at the head of his armies. The very title Sultan carries with it a military meaning. Until the time of Selim I (1512–1520) the Ottoman rulers were usually spoken of as emirs. When Selim I, as climax of his victorious campaigns in Persia, Syria, and Egypt, seized the Caliphate, among other titles given to him was that of "Sultan"—the attacking one, the imperious one. In him the Ottoman nation had reached, as it were, a mature consciousness of its rôle in history. It is worth noting that Selim was dealing with a Moslem country when he assumed this title. It was hardly chosen and used with special reference to Christian nations. The Ottoman ruler from 1288 to 1774 was *par excellence* "the attacking one," without distinction of race or creed.

Consider the Janissary system as a support of the military tradition. During the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries the Janissaries were the apotheosis of force. Their numbers were recruited from tribute children of the Christian population of the Empire. Their training required an extreme surrender of personality. Their duties often demanded from them the execution of acts of indescribable cruelty. During four centuries the body of Janissaries was a pliable tool in the hands of the sultan. They were the instruments of his will in home and foreign domination. They formed one great family of

which the sultan was the head. They knew no allegiance of any kind to any other person. He had one resource when there was the slightest evidence of discontent—he sent them on raids of conquest. That was their meat and their drink. They were like bloodhounds trained to perform a ghastly service. After 1675 discipline began to weaken. The system of tribute children was broken. It became a privilege even for a Moslem to be admitted to the corps. Janissary service became a highway of plunder and cruelty within and without the capital. The Janissaries did more than any other institution to perpetuate the tradition that life is cheap. They were not easily overthrown. When finally they were destroyed (1826) it was by the power of another military system, which was adopted only because it gave promise of being more efficient.

The great business of the masters of Constantinople has been war. With a consistency born of necessity, they have subordinated everything to that end. The verdict of history would seem to be that he who holds Constantinople must be prepared sooner or later to defend his title by force of arms.

2. Ecclesiasticism

Constantine the Great in founding Constantinople thought and spoke of it as the "New Rome." As the first Christian Emperor, his commanding personality and position stamped Constantinople from that early day as the second center of a militant religion as well as a political capital. This aspect of importance Constantinople has never lost. The greatest monument of the Eastern Roman Empire, St. Sophia, built by the Emperor Justinian within two centuries after Constantine the Great, still stands in all its massive glory as the embodiment of the religious phase of Constantinople life. From being the greatest sanctuary of the Greek Church, it became the most famous mosque of the Moslem Church.

This conception of religion is indicated by two great series of conflicts which have occurred in the East.

The circumstances under which the Greek Church has sought to maintain its existence since the conquest have made it natural for leaders, as well as for people, to think of their church as a national or political instrument rather than a spiritual powerhouse. Ecclesiasticism rather than religion has become the persistent tradition. When the Greek thinks religion he visualizes a priest in elaborate robes performing the rites of a complex liturgy, or, if more ardent, he sees the Patriarch pleading the cause of the nation with the Ottoman officials.

When Constantinople came into the possession of the Ottoman Moslem, there was no disposition on the part of the victor to surrender any of the traditional importance of the city as the vital center of a great, militant faith. One of his first acts was to set up an ecclesiastical system whereby the component parts of the population of the capital, as well as of the Empire, should stand out in strong contrast to one another. He appointed Gennadius as Patriarch for all the Greeks and others who were associated with the Greek Orthodox Church. He called Bishop Hovagim from Brousa and established him as the first Patriarch of the Armenians. Above all, he established the Sheikh-ul-Islam in the corresponding office for the Moslems. He was to be the Sheikh, the spiritual leader for all the Moslems of the Empire. It should be remembered that neither Mohammed the Conqueror nor any of his predecessors had the title of Caliph. He was the Ottoman Emir, and was not recognized as having any religious prestige beyond that of an increasingly powerful national ruler of Moslem faith. There were various reasons why the Ottoman should covet the prestige which religious as well as political supremacy would give him. He saw the low estate into which the Abbasid Caliph had fallen. He knew the spell which

the added title would cast over his followers. But it was not until the day of Selim I that the Ottoman Emir became the Moslem Caliph—sixty years after the conquest of Constantinople.

Since that day, when Selim laid claim to the Caliphate and based his claim on "real-politik," as he dealt with the impotent Abbasid Caliph in Egypt, the Ottoman Sultan at Constantinople has stood before the world as the ecclesiastical representative of one of the major religious divisions of mankind.

3. Trade

Those adventurous Greek merchants from Megara who picked the site of Byzantium followed a true commercial instinct. In spite of the fact that the interests of war throughout the centuries have overshadowed the interests of peaceful commerce, Constantinople has maintained a reputation as one of the great commercial ports of the world. It is and has been an international toll gate for shipping between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea areas. It is and has been the natural depot and distributing port center for southeastern Europe, southern Russia, the Caucasus, and Asia Minor. The Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, Scutari, played a great rôle, before such modern developments as the Suez Canal and the various railroads of Asia Minor, as the westernmost terminus of the great caravan routes leading to and from Central Asia, India, and China.

The Greeks established a great commercial tradition. They were more interested in trade than in conquest. Under them the climax of the wealth of Constantinople continued from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. Concerning these centuries Oman writes:

"All other commerce than that of the Empire had been swept off the seas by the Saracen pirates in the preceding

Photograph by Resne

Traffic on Great Galata Bridge over the Golden Horn

hundred years, and the only touch between Eastern and Western Christendom was kept up under the protection of the imperial navy. The Eastern products which found their way to Italy or France were all passed through the warehouses of the Bosphorus. It was the East-Roman ships that carried all the trade; save a few Italian ports, such as Amalfi and the new city of Venice, no place seems even to have possessed merchant ships. This monopoly of the commerce of Europe was one of the greatest elements in the strength of the Empire." [1]

Another writer has said of this period, "So naturally was Constantinople the center of trade that she acted as a sort of universal banker. Her coins were in use in India and in distant England." [2]

The Crusades changed all this. Commerce in the Mediterranean passed largely into the hands of the Venetians, who had no desire to magnify the commercial importance of Constantinople. They received eastern products from Syrian ports. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 gave the city a blow from which it never recovered under the Greeks.

Under the Turks commerce has always been subordinate to war. Yet since their capital has served as their great naval and military base, its trade has always been important, though to a large extent in the hands of foreigners. Since 1774 most of the commerce of the city has been in the hands of Greek and Armenian merchants and foreigners. Constantinople itself is an empire for the merchant dealing with manufactured products. When the Westerner, accustomed to grimy cities, gets beyond the stage where the variegated human scenery of the city loosens its grip on his attention, he misses most of all the great factories that usually cluster in and around a metropolis of a million or more inhabitants. Constantinople has little to offer in the way of factory-made goods. It imports even its fezes from

[1] Oman, "Byzantine Empire," p. 224.
[2] Hutton, "Constantinople," p. 105.

Europe. Now as always, however, the chief commercial importance of the city lies in its wonderful location as an emporium and a distributing center. The average value of goods passing through the port of Constantinople at the opening of the twentieth century, was estimated at about $50,000,000. The raw products of Russia and Asia Minor, chief of which are grain and wool, are exchanged for manufactured goods of all kinds. In the year 1905, excluding sailing and small coasting vessels, 9796 ships called at the port, representing a total of 14,785,080 tons. The Golden Horn harbor of the city is indeed a golden horn of plenty to the import and export merchant.

III

CIVIC ADMINISTRATION

WILLIAM WHEELOCK PEET

OUTLINE

I. The Government and the Non-Turkish Communities
   1. The Policy of Mohammed II in Constantinople
II. Rights Granted to the Greek Communities
   1. To the Monastery on Mount Sinai
   2. To the Patriarchate of Jerusalem
   3. To the Patriarchate of Constantinople
   4. Civil Powers of the Patriarch
   5. The Influence of the Greek Community
   6. The Hatti Humayoun in Relation to the Greek Community
   7. The Organization of the Holy Synod
III. Rights Granted to the Armenian Community
   1. The Grant of Autonomy in 1461
   2. The Government of the Armenian Community to 1862
   3. The Armenian Constitution Granted 1862
IV. The Capitulations Governing Foreign Communities
V. The Turkish Constitution
   1. The Constitution of 1908
   2. The Organization of Parliament
      a. Qualifications of Members
      b. Salaries of Members
VI. The Organization of the Administrative Offices
   1. The Cabinet
   2. The Sheikh-ul-Islam
VII. The Ministry of the Interior
   1. The Government of the Vilayet
   2. The Government of the Prefecture
   3. Directorate of Public Security
   4. The Police Administration
VIII. Interallied Control
   1. Police Commission
      a. Police forces
      b. Courts
   2. Sanitary Commission
      a. Street Cleaning
      b. Drainage
      c. Prostitution
   3. Food Commission
   4. Prison Commission
   5. Censorship Bureau and Control of Telegrams
   6. Requisition Commission
   7. Passport Bureau
   8. Military and Naval Commission
   9. Harbor Control Commission
IX. Income of the Vilayet of Constantinople in 1920-1921
X. Expenses of the Vilayet of Constantinople for 1920
XI. Graphic Representation of the Administrative Offices

I. The Government and the non-Turkish Communities

As the Turks are a mixed race, blending their blood with that of many other races, so have they borrowed from others customs, religions, letters, and laws. One must go back into the dim past to understand their racial characteristics and the system of government under which they live and through which they direct their intercourse with their own people and with those who live among them as strangers ("guests") or who, though subjects, are permitted to retain their ancestral religions, languages and customs and their family and communal life.

In their early history only such rules as sufficed to control the movements and restrain the excesses of a nomad people were required; while under their Empire, which in the days of its greatest expansion under Süleiman, called "the Magnificent," 1520 A.D., ran from the frontiers of Germany in Europe to the Persian Gulf in Asia, there was demanded a code of laws fitted to the needs of a European State. The Turkish conquests brought them territory, and the increase of territory brought people of diverse races, customs, and religions.

1. The Policy of Mohammed II in Constantinople

Mohammed II on taking the city of Constantinople in 1453 found a population composed of many races and many creeds. Among these the most important were the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews. Some of these races were living under special privileges which had been granted to them by the Byzantine Emperors. Mohammed II soon realized the value which the foreign and Christian popula-

tion would contribute to his new Empire and he therefore granted to his newly made Christian subjects a kind of community autonomy, in order that they might be retained and contribute to the prosperity and growth of his Empire. In this way the foreign and Christian populations were relieved from the application of the Koranic Law and left to govern themselves through their communal councils and courts. He was thus relieved from the embarrassment which an attempt to incorporate these peoples into the Moslem community would entail, while at the same time he insured their loyal support as subjects and guests enjoying special rights and privileges in harmony with their traditions, thus making it easier for them to submit to the Moslem power modified, as it was, by the grant given to the communities. These privileges issued by the several sultans of Turkey as *Irades, Akhtnamés* or *Berats* have been changed from time to time as conditions in the Empire changed.

II. Rights Granted to the Greek Communities

The first *Akhtnamé* (covenant) was given to the Greeks by Mohammed I (the Prophet). This covenant recognized all the rights of the monks in the Monastery on Mt. Sinai and ordered that they must be free to exercise their religious rights and duties and that they were to be exempt from taxation by the Imperial Government. In the fifteenth year of the Hegira (637 A.D.) the Caliph at that time granted the same rights "to the Patriarch of the Royal [Greek] Nation" at Jerusalem. After the Turkish Conquest of Constantinople, the Sultan gave the customary *Berat* (warrant) to the Patriarch and to the Bishops and told them to continue their functions, with all the rights that they had exercised in the past. That first Patriarch's Berat has been lost, but all the later ones are now at the Greek Patriarchate at Phanar. Each new Patriarch and Bishop secured a

Berat for himself for which large sums of money were usually demanded by the Turkish authorities. Sometimes the Berat was not secured until three or four years after the Patriarch had been installed at the Patriarchate. These Berats were all alike until 1856. After that date slight changes were made to fit the changed conditions of the times. The Berat gave to the Patriarch jurisdiction over the church, over the bishops and the priests, and over the administration of monasteries; control in all questions regarding marriage and inheritance, and authority over the schools.

The Patriarch in the Greek Church has never had full civil authority over the Greek people. At the Patriarchate there has always been a Holy Synod, composed of twelve Archbishops, in whose hands most of the power rests.

Among the people who had great influence in the Government of the Greek community were the Princes of Wallachia, Moldavia, and several other principalities in what is now Roumania. These Princes were always elected from the leading Greek people who had remained in Constantinople after its conquest by the Turks. Another group having large influence were the Dragomans of the Sultan, also elected from this group of influential Greeks who had been educated in Constantinople or in Europe. These men had great influence with the Sultan and with the authorities. There were also many rich Greeks in Constantinople, the heads of corporations and guilds, who gave much financial assistance to the Patriarch toward the maintenance of schools and churches. These three groups strongly influenced the affairs of the Greek community. Whenever an important national question was to be decided, an assembly was called consisting of the Patriarch, the twelve Archbishops, the Dragomans, the ambassadors of the Princes mentioned above, and the chiefs of the corporations.

In 1856 the Hatti Humayoun was issued. This ex-

pressed the great desire of His Imperial Majesty for the happiness and well-being of his non-Moslem subjects and invited each non-Moslem community in his Empire to draw up a constitution, containing a declaration of rights and privileges that the members of each community might claim, and stated that the document containing this declaration should be presented to him in order that it might have definite recognition by the Imperial Government. In 1860 the new regulations in regard to the Greek Patriarch were promulgated and the Constitution issued at that time is still in force. The Porte has made several attempts to change the Constitution and restrict the privileges of the church and the schools, and to reduce the rights covered by the laws, but after much protest the Porte was obliged to recognize all the privileges that had been granted.

At present the affairs of the Greek community are conducted by the Holy Synod, composed of twelve Archbishops, all from the Provinces, with the Patriarch as President, and the Mixed Council composed of four Archbishops and eight laymen. One of the four Archbishops is the President of the Mixed Council. The four Archbishops in the Mixed Council are also members of the Holy Synod. They are chosen by the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. In the election of a layman for the Mixed Council, each parish sends a representative to the Patriarchate. These representatives meet with the existing members of the Mixed Council, and with the Holy Synod, under the presidency of the Patriarch, they elect the new members for a term of two years. This assembly for the election of laymen takes place once a year.

III. Rights Granted to the Armenian Community

The first grant of autonomy to the Armenian community was made in 1461 when an Armenian bishop was advanced to the rank of Patriarch with superior civil rights as the

leader and governor of his people. The community government of the Armenian people with the Patriarch at the head was practically monarchical. The Patriarch at Etchmiadzin had exclusive control over the religious affairs of his people and he appointed the bishops who were to govern their churches. Then followed an oligarchical period. Many wealthy and influential Armenians, known as "notables," had come to Constantinople and Greece "to obtain learning" and to escape the persecution of their Persian and Arab neighbors. These "notables" exerted much influence in the Empire and in their own community life and government. By the latter part of the seventeenth century most of the commercial and banking business, as well as the collecting of taxes of the Imperial Government, was in the hands of the Armenians and these people had obtained many concessions from the Imperial Government. These men had gradually gained so much power in their community administration that they were able to elect and to depose their Patriarch.

The oligarchical form of government lasted from the latter part of the seventeenth century until the Tanzimat (1839). Then followed a more democratic form of government. The power of the Patriarch was still more reduced as the influence of the people grew stronger. A bishop was no longer appointed by the Patriarch, but he was chosen by the people of his own diocese. Upon the receipt of the certificate of election to the bishopric, the Patriarch at Constantinople was called upon to approve the election and to present the newly elected bishop to the Patriarch at Etchmiadzin to be ordained. The Sultan issued to the Bishop a *Berat* (warrant) which legalized his position in the eyes of all government officials.

The growth of the democratic spirit in Turkey began with the French Revolution. Many Armenian doctors, engineers, officials, and men of wealth studied in Paris and

there imbibed the revolutionary spirit that permeated the life of that time. This spirit they brought back to Turkey and its influence was strongly felt in the relations that existed between the Imperial Government and the community life in the capital. As a more democratic form of government developed in the communities, more rights and privileges were demanded from the Turkish Government. As the Imperial Government endeavored to wrest from these communities some of the rights that had been accorded them, pressure was brought upon the Imperial Government, chiefly from the English and the French, and new pledges were given to the communities.

On February 14, 1862, in fulfilment of His Majesty's desire as expressed in the Hatti Humayoun of 1856, a letter was sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Imperial Government "To the Prudent Representative of the Armenian Patriarch," requesting the formation of a committee of seven representatives of the Patriarchate, which committee later met with a committee from the Sublime Porte and a constitution for the Armenian nation was decided upon. This constitution was sent to the Sublime Porte and by that body submitted to the Sultan, who approved of it and issued an imperial decree making it a law and commissioning the Patriarch to superintend its execution.

This constitution recognizes a Religious Assembly and a Political Assembly in the Armenian Patriarchate, which in case of necessity unite and form the Mixed Assembly. It lays down the duties of each, and of the councils and committees organized by them, as well as the system of national taxation and of national provincial administration.

The Armenian National Constitution, together with the correspondence relating thereto, may be found in Lynch's "Armenia," Appendix I., Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1901.

The General Assembly of the Armenian nation met regularly in Constantinople until 1892. Some of the provincial assemblies still continue their meetings. But the constitution is practically in abeyance, owing to the strained relations at present existing between the Palace and the Armenians.

IV. The Capitulations Governing Foreign Communities

The Capitulations,[1] which had been in force from and before the conquest of Constantinople (1453), were, generally speaking, confirmed by the conqueror and left in full force and vigor. These were added to and enlarged as time went on. The most important and fundamental were those given to France in 1535 A.D. These still exist, and have furnished the foundation upon which all European nations have made subsequent treaties with the Porte. Most of the late treaties contain what is known as the "most favored nation" clause, under which they obtain all that has been granted to other nations. There is thus a substantial agreement among the Western nations as to the rights they have obtained and enjoy. Under the Capitulations foreigners who reside in Turkey are by a fiction of law regarded as dwelling in their own country and subject and amenable to its laws. Under this arrangement the subjects of each foreign country are formed into separate communities or colonies, in which they are governed by officials of their own choosing from their own number. There are thus set up in the non-Moslem section of the population little states in which all communal matters are settled according to the laws and customs of the people forming the community

[1] On the subject of the Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire, the following will be helpful: Report of Edward A. Van Dyck upon Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire since the Year 1150. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1881. Origin of the Capitulations and of the Consular Institution. G. Bie Ravndal, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921.

quite apart from any resort to the Turkish Government. These communities have their own courts, judges, and juries, and in many instances their local schools and churches. Generally speaking, foreign schools and churches are open to the use of the members of other communities. In 1914 an attempt was made to abolish the Capitulations and to this end the then reigning Sultan issued an *Iradé* (September, 1914). This step called out a unanimous protest on the part of the foreign Powers who objected to this act, taken as it was without their consent. The Treaty of Sevres restored the Capitulations to their former force, though it looks to an eventual establishment of such a régime as will supersede and render unnecessary the peculiar status granted to foreigners by the Capitulations.

V. The Turkish Constitution

In November, 1876, under a decree issued by Sultan Abdul Hamid II, a constitution was promulgated. This provided for the security of personal liberty and property; for the administration of justice by irremovable judges; for the abolition of torture; for freedom of the press and full equality before the law of all Ottoman subjects; for freedom of worship to all creeds and persons irrespective of religion, though Islam was declared the official religion of the State. Under the Constitution provision was made for a Parliament and thus the attempt was made to change the Government of the Empire from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. This constitution had a short life. Under it but one Parliament was convoked and that after a short official term was dissolved by decree of the Sultan. From the dissolution of this Parliament the Constitution became a dead letter, and the Sultan reverted to absolutism which grew to be more complete than that of any of his predecessors. Toward the close of the reign of Abdul Hamid II and following the revolt under which the restoration of the

Constitution was demanded, by a new Iradé issued in July, 1908, the Constitution was restored, practically as it had been promulgated thirty-two years before. On the 28th of the same month the Sultan took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution and on the first day of August issued an Imperial Iradé confirming the Constitution and his own relation to it.

The new constitution, like its predecessor, provided for a Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Deputies. The two Houses together formed what is known as the General Assembly. According to the Constitution, the Assembly is to be convened each year at the beginning of November and opened by Imperial Iradé and closed by a similar document at the beginning of the following March. Neither of these bodies can be considered as in session so long as the other is not in session. The Senate is a permanent body, the chairman and members of which are appointed directly by the Sultan for life or until removed by his will. Senators should be at least forty years of age. They are to be selected from among those who have rendered distinguished service to the State. The total number of Senators is not to exceed one-third of the number of Deputies constituting the Lower House. The members of the Lower House are chosen by electors nominated by the notables. The Constitution directs that voting for Deputies must be by secret ballot. The members of the House of Deputies are chosen in the proportion of one for each fifty thousand male inhabitants. They must be at least thirty years of age. A Deputy's term of service is four years, at the end of which he may be reëlected. All members elected or appointed to the General Assembly must take an oath promising loyalty to the Sultan and to the Fatherland, to uphold the Constitution, and to fulfill their duties and "to refrain from the opposite." Those who are present on the opening day of the session are

sworn in in the presence of the Grand Vizier; those who are absent at that time must take the oath at some meeting of their own parliamentary body in the presence of the chairman. The following classes are not eligible to membership in the Assembly of Deputies:

1. Those who are not Ottoman subjects.
2. Ottomans enjoying under special laws immunities incident to foreign service.
3. Those who do not know Turkish.
4. Those under thirty years of age.
5. Private servants.
6. Bankrupts.
7. Persons guilty of scandalous conduct.
8. Those under judicial sentence.
9. Those who have forfeited their civil rights.
10. Those who have been naturalized in other countries.

The salary of a Senator is placed at 10,000 piasters a month; that of a Deputy at 20,000 piasters a year. Traveling expenses are provided in addition to the above salaries.

It is not required that a Deputy should reside in the district for which he is elected. Voting for Deputies sometimes takes place without the knowledge of the candidate, and thus it sometimes happens that the same man may be returned from more than one district. In such a case the party elected may choose the district he prefers to represent, leaving the one whose suffrage he declines to select another representative.

The last Parliament was dissolved in April, 1920, since which the Constantinople Government has governed without a Parliament. The "Great National Assembly" (a Parliament of but one chamber), convened at Angora by the Government of Moustapha Kemal, exercises the functions of a Parliament for the entire country, although of course their acts are not recognized beyond the territory governed by the so-called Nationalists.

VI. The Organization of the Administrative Offices

The Grand Vizier is the highest official of the Empire. He is appointed by Imperial Iradé, as is also the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and holds his office during the pleasure of his Imperial Master. He is President of the Council of Ministers. He has final jurisdiction on all questions, internal and external which are referred to the Sublime Porte for approval. His office is the highest and most important in the Cabinet: he selects the members of his Cabinet, with the exception of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and their appointment is ratified by Imperial Firman. All matters which require presentation to the Sultan must pass through the office of the Grand Vizier on their way to the Palace.

Under the Grand Vizier are the other twelve members of the Cabinet, as follows:

1. Sheikh-ul-Islam.
2. Kharidjié Nazareti (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
3. Maarif Nazareti (Ministry of Public Instruction).
4. Dakhiliyé Nazareti (Ministry of the Interior).
5. Maliyé Nazareti (Ministry of Finance).
6. Bahrié Nazareti (Ministry Marine).
7. Harbiyé Nazareti (Ministry of War).
8. Tijaret ve Ziraat Nazareti (Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, including Mines and Forests).
9. Adliyé Nazareti (Ministry of Justice).
10. Evkaf Nazareti (Ministry of Pious Foundations).
11. Nafaa Nazareti (Ministry of Public Works).
12. Shoura-i-devlet reissi (President of the Council of State).

As this Survey relates to Constantinople and not to the whole of Turkey, only the Ministries with which the Constantinople Government is concerned will be considered here.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam, like the Grand Vizier, is selected and appointed by the Sultan himself.

Under the Sheikh-ul-Islam there are twelve Canonical Courts in the following districts of the City:

Stamboul	Daoud Pasha
Galata	Kassim Pasha
Scutari	Kartal
Eyoub	Mahmoud Pasha
Beikos	Makrikeuy

These courts have no "Assessors" (assistant judges). One judge in each locality sits alone and hears and decides on cases in his jurisdiction, such as inheritance, wills, interdictions, *vakfs, nefage* (allowance for subsistence due to children born from a divorced wife), etc.

VII. The Ministry of the Interior (Dakhiliyé Nazareti)

Under the Ministry of the Interior are the departments of the Vilayet, the Prefecture, Public Security, and Police Administration.

1. The Government of the Vilayet

The Turkish Empire is divided into Vilayets (provinces). The Vali (Governor General) is the highest official of the executive of the Vilayet, represents each Ministry, and is responsible to the Ministry of the Interior for the general administration of the Vilayet. The Vali is the head of the civil administrative affairs and functions of the Stamboul Vilayet.

The Vali is appointed by Imperial Iradé, after the Council of Ministers has agreed to his appointment. To dismiss a Vali the case must be taken to the Ministers, and then through the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, and an Imperial Iradé issued for his dismissal. However, the Grand Vizier has been known to take the responsibility upon himself for the dismissal of the Vali.

The other chief officials of the Vilayet are:

Defterdar (Chief Official for Financial Affairs of the Vilayet).
Mektübji (Chief Secretary to the Vali).
Maarif Müdiri (Director of Public Instruction).
Ser-Mouhendiss (Chief Civil Engineer).
Ziraat Müdiri (Director of Agriculture).
Sihhié Müdiri (Director of Sanitary Affairs).
Defteri Khakani Müdiri (Director of the Office where Real Estate Records Are Kept).
Orman Müdiri (Director of Affairs concerning Forests).
Evkaf Müdiri (Director of Affairs concerning Pious Foundations).
Mouhajirin Müdiri (Director of Affairs concerning Emigrants).
Baytar Müdiri (Director of Veterinary Affairs).
Oumouri Houkoukié Müdiri (Director of Legal Affairs).
Varidat Müdiri (Director of Public Revenue).
Noufous Müdiri (Director of the Census).
Evrak Müdiri (Director of Official Archives).

a. In each Vilayet there is an Administrative Council *(Mejlissi idaré)*. The President of this Council is the Vali and the other members are: the Defterdar, Mektübji, Maarif Müdiri, Ser-Mouhendiss, Ziraat Müdiri, and the chief religious men of each community. They are called Permanent Members. There are also two Moslem and two non-Moslem members who are called Elected Members. These are elected as follows: A special commission, the President of which is the Vali, prepares a list of twelve persons for membership in the Mejlissi idaré of the Vilayet and sends it to the Levas of the Vilayet through the Vali. At the Leva the Mütesarif, with the Mejlissi idaré of the Leva, elects four of these twelve men and sends the names of the men elected to the Vali. After some formalities their election is approved.

The Mejlissi idaré hears and decides cases brought against the functionaries of the Vilayet arising about their

official duties. It puts up at auction and Dutch auction[1] the things for the account of the Government and makes all contracts in which the Vilayet is interested; sells the tithes of the Vilayet by auction; sells by auction wood for timber from the forests of the Government; keeps and takes care of the property of the Vilayet; assigns special places for cemeteries; examines and approves the lists sent by local officials for election to official positions; acts as a Court of Appeal from judgments given by lower Mejlisses; examines complaints against the decisions given by different officials of the Vilayet.

b. In the Vilayet of Constantinople there is a General Council (Mejlissi Oumoumi). The members of this Council are elected by the Kazas, the number of its members being fixed in the proportion of one for each 12,500 Moslem and non-Moslem male subjects of each Kaza. First, the Vali and the Mejlissi idaré of the Vilayet fix the number of Moslem and non-Moslem members to be elected from each Kaza according to the total male population of the Vilayet, and then upon the decision of said Mejlissi idaré, each Kaza elects its members to this Council by a commission composed of the Mütesarif, the Mejlissi idaré of the Kaza, and electors of the members of Parliament. Any Ottoman subject from the population of the Vilayet can be elected by any Kaza of the Vilayet. The following people cannot be elected as members of the Mejlissi Oumoumi: (1) Those that are still in military service. (2) Members of Parliament and Senate. (3) Judges and members of tribunals and other officials. (4) Those in the Vilayet who are contractors for things pertaining to the Vilayet.

The members of the Mejlissi Oumoumi are elected for a period of four years, at the expiration of which they may be reëlected for another period. This Mejliss meets once

[1] Purchase at lowest price offered.

a year for forty days and, if necessary, the session can be prolonged for fifteen days. Its President is the Vali. In his absence the members may elect one of their number as Acting President (Vice-President). A summary of the decisions of the Mejlissi Oumoumi is published in the official paper of the Vilayet, provided such a paper is published. The Mejlissi Oumoumi cannot discuss any political questions. The matters to be examined and decided on are sent to the Mejliss by the Vali. Each member has the right to propose for acceptance any measure concerning the benefit of the Vilayet, if it is accepted for discussion by the majority of the members.

If the Vali finds it necessary to dissolve the Mejlissi Oumoumi, he reports his reason for doing so to the Ministry of the Interior, and if upon the decision of the Council of Ministers the answer is for dissolution, it must be approved by Imperial Iradé.

This Mejliss has jurisdiction in the following matters: Fixes the budget of the Vilayet, upon which the chief of each department is required to explain that part of the budget relating to his own office; gives authorization for borrowing money to be spent for public works and the necessities of public health and education; examines the reports regarding the plans of construction and repairs contained in the budget of the Vilayet; applies to the proper departments for any illegal case in the distribution and collection of taxes, etc.; submits its opinion in regard to the augmentation of income from said taxes, and fixes the amount of special taxes for the Vilayet in addition to the general taxes, in accordance with special law. The decisions of the Mejlissi Oumoumi become decisive by the approval of the Vali.

c. There is a third Council, or Commission, in the Vilayet called *Enjumini Vilayet.* This Council acts *ad interim* between the sessions of the Mejlissi Oumoumi and in place of

it when it does not function. It consists of four members who are elected for one year from among the members of the Mejlissi Oumoumi. Its President is the Vali or his *Vekil* (representative).

The duties of the Enjumini Vilayet are as follows:

(1) Examines the budget of the Vilayet sent to it by the Vali, and explains its opinion.

(2) Examines the lists of expenditures presented at the end of each month, and if it finds them conformable to the budget, approves it.

(3) Gives its opinion in regard to auction and Dutch auction to be made according to the budget and the decision of the Mejlissi Oumoumi.

(4) Fixes the manner of spending the money contained in the budget for unexpected expenditure.

(5) In urgent cases it is empowered to act for the Mejlissi Oumoumi in all matters, on condition that such actions be submitted to the Mejlissi Oumoumi on its first sitting.

(6) Examines and reports on plans for public improvements submitted to Mejlissi Oumoumi.

d. Each Vilayet is composed of several Levas *(Sanjaks* or *Mütesarifliks)*. The Mütesarif is the highest executive official in the Leva and is responsible to the Vali.

There is a Mejlissi idaré in each Leva which is constituted similar to that of the Vilayet and with similar functions.

The Mütesarif is appointed by Imperial Iradé on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. He may be dismissed by Imperial Iradé, but in some cases the Vali or the Grand Vizier takes the matter in his own hands and dismisses the Mütesarif without carrying the case to the higher authority.

In Constantinople there are three Levas: *(a)* Pera; *(b)* Scutari; *(c)* Stamboul. The Levas of Pera and Scutari each have their own Mütesarif. In the Leva of

Stamboul there is no Mütesarif, as the duties pertaining to that official are assumed by the Vali.

A Leva is composed of several Kazas. The highest official in the Kaza is the Kaimakam. The Kaimakam is appointed by Imperial Iradé. He is recommended to the Minister of the Interior by the Vali and the Minister of the Interior requests his appointment by the Grand Vizier. The Kaimakam is assisted in the government of the Kaza by a Mejlissi idaré (Council).

In the central Leva of Stamboul there are three Kazas, each under a Kaimakam who is responsible directly to the Vali. These Kazas are: Makrikeuy, Prinkipo, and Chekmedjé. The Leva of Pera has no Kazas. The Leva of Scutari is composed of four Kazas under Kaimakams: Guebzé, Oumourlou, Kartal, and Shilé.

The Kaza is composed of Nahiés. The Müdir is the highest official of the Nahié. The Müdir is assisted by a Mejlissi idaré.

The Nahié is composed of villages.

In the Ottoman system the village is the lowest political division of the Empire. In the villages all Ottoman subjects who have attained the age of eighteen years, and who pay at least fifty piasters as yearly tax to the Government, are considered as electors and are authorized to meet once a year in their villages and to elect Moukhtars (clerks) and members of the Council of Elders.

The Moukhtars and Elders must be Ottoman subjects, not under thirty years of age, who pay to the Government at least one hundred piasters as yearly tax. The election of the Moukhtars and Elders is communicated to the Kaimakam (chief official in the Kaza) by whom their election is to be approved. In preparation for the election in the Kazas, a special commission composed of the Kaimakam, Kadis, Müftis, and head men of each community meets and makes a list of candidates for the Mejliss of the

Mütesariflik. These candidates must be not under thirty years of age and from among Ottoman subjects paying at least one hundred and fifty piasters as tax to the Government and "if possible must be able to read and write."

2. *The Government of the Prefecture*

Thus far we have treated of the government of the city, as this is represented through the offices of the Vilayet (province). Within the area of the Vilayet is a smaller organization known as the *Prefecture,* the chief officer of which is the Prefect (Mayor). The government of the Prefecture is treated below. Many officials testify that much care has been bestowed on limiting the functions of the Vilayet and the Prefecture so that their jurisdictions may function harmoniously. However, it is well known that, in the dispatch of business, conflicts exist at many points, causing confusion and delay in transacting business.

The Prefecture carries out the general municipal functions of the City of Constantinople. The Prefect (Shehir Emini) is the highest official of all the municipal and administrative affairs of the Prefecture.

The Prefecture (Shehir Emaneti) is composed of Müdiriets, or local branch offices of the municipality, each under the presidency of a Müdir. In the Shehir Emaneti of Constantinople there are nine Müdiriets: Bayezid, Fatih, Pera, Yenikeuy, Anadoli Hissar, Scutari, Kadikeuy, Islands, and Makrikeuy. The functions of the branch Müdiriets are to perform the municipal duties, to collect the income of the municipality, to send fortnightly a list showing the income and expenditure, and at the end of the year to send the yearly list of accounts, and to perform all that pertains to the administration of their branch.

The general municipal duties are carried out by

a. Heyeti fenniyé müdirieti (Office of Technical Affairs).
b. Heyeti sihhiyé müdirieti (Office of Sanitary Affairs).

c. Oumouri iktisadiyé müdirieti (Office of Economical Affairs).

and the administrative affairs by

d. Müfettishé oumoumilik (Office of General Inspector).

e. Heyeti Tahririyé müdirieti (Office of Correspondence and Registration).

f. Heyeti hisabiyé müdirieti (Office of Accounts).

g. Oumouri houkoukiyé müdirieti (Office of Director of Legal Affairs).

a. The functions of the Technical Office are chiefly as follows: To make and preserve the general plan of the city and to put it into execution according to the program adopted; to supervise the construction of buildings according to the municipal regulations and to technical and sanitary rules; to construct and care for public squares; to build quays, wharfs, and public gardens; to make and repair pavements and drains; to do what is necessary to bring water into the city; to supervise the cleanliness and lighting of the city; to supervise the work of contractors working for the municipality; to examine and certify all plans for buildings in accordance with the law; to prepare the plans for the construction and repairs of municipal properties and of the properties to be purchased for public use, and to execute the same under the approval of the Prefecture; to demolish old buildings; to do what is necessary to prevent fires, and where fires occur, to do what is possible to extinguish them; to plant trees for shade and ornament, and provide amusement places for the public; to care for public water ways; to make tariffs for the regulation of transportation within the limits of the Prefecture; to keep all the buildings and other institutions of the municipality in good condition; to manage the technical affairs of the branch Müdiriets.

b. The functions of the Sanitary Department are: To establish and administer hospitals, orphanages, and other

charitable institutions; to enforce the rules of the municipality relating to public health in the erection of factories and manufactories, and to improve the sanitary condition of those that are already established; to examine and analyze foods, drinks, and other things offered for sale, and to destroy or prevent the sale of anything injurious; to designate the waters which are drinkable; to secure the construction of water courses, wells, and drains according to sanitary rules; to secure the safety of water courses and wells from contamination; to open places for fumigation; to take necessary steps in order to prevent contagious and epidemic diseases, to communicate with the Ministry of Health and to vaccinate against disease; to examine the places for public use, hotels, han, eating places, factories, and if they find therein anything injurious to the health to have the cause removed; to issue permission for burial upon the report issued by the physician showing the cause of death; to publish sanitary statistics and pamphlets; to forbid the sale of the meat of sick or weak animals, and to see that the animals killed at slaughter houses are free from disease; to manage the sanitary affairs of the branch Müdiriets; in short, to do all that is necessary for the improvement of the public health of the city.

c. The functions of the Economical Department are: To secure the supply of a sufficient quantity of food, fuel, and other necessities for the use of the city; to establish storerooms and depots for the municipality in the city and its environs; to take care that the food, fuel, and other necessities are sold at moderate prices, and if necessary to fix a market price; to prevent profiteering; to establish dwelling places with cheap rent for the poor; to establish race courses and shooting galleries; to do all that is necessary for the extension and progress of the economical conditions of the city; to build and manage slaughter houses and to supervise the economical affairs of the branch offices.

d. The functions of the General Inspectorship are: To inspect the affairs of the Prefecture and of the branch municipalities and to secure their execution conformably to the laws, regulations, and instructions; to ascertain if the income of the Prefecture is collected in time and spent properly; to examine the cash boxes and lists of accounts; to audit the accounts in the municipality and branch offices, reporting all irregularities to the Prefecture.

e. The functions of the Correspondence and Registration Office are: To attend to the correspondence and registration pertaining to the Prefecture; to keep the registers and archives in good condition and to do the clerical work of the functionaries; to make general statistics, and to translate the necessary papers and to maintain order and discipline in their department.

f. The functions of the Accounts Department are: To collect promptly the income of the Prefecture and spend it according to the budget; to procure and keep the deeds of immovable property that belongs to the municipality; to examine the accounts sent by the branch Müdiriets; to prepare the annual budget; to devise means of increasing the present and future income of the municipality; to tabulate the accounts of the Prefecture and its branches; to have custody of the property of the Prefecture; to conduct auctions and Dutch auctions in conformity to special regulations and instructions; to keep in good order the furniture, stationery, and storeroom of the Prefecture.

g. The functions of the Office of Legal Adviser are: To draw up laws and regulations governing the administration of the municipality; to examine all contracts and the conditions under which auctions and Dutch auctions are conducted; to give his legal opinion when required; to conduct the lawsuits brought by or against the municipality, and to secure the execution of sentences given in favor of the municipality.

There is a special Commission in the Prefecture called *Enjumeni Emanet* which is composed of Müdirs of the Technical, Sanitary, Correspondence, and Registration Offices, Accountant's Office, Legal Affairs, and Economical Offices. The Prefect or one of his Mouavins (Assistants) is the President of this Commission.

The duties of this Commission are: to hear and decide on complaints against the officials of the municipality; to examine and decide on objections regarding the municipal elections; to buy real estate for public use (*istimlak*); to study the suggestions for laws, regulations, and instructions transmitted to them by the Prefect; to decide on large constructions and works, also on important purchasing and selling projects pertaining to the municipality.

In each Müdiriet of the branch offices of the municipality, under the presidency of the Müdir, there is a branch *Enjumen* composed of Chief Clerk, Chief Engineer, Chief Physician, and Official Accountant.

There is also a General Council *(Jemieti oumoumiyé-i-belediyé)* in the Prefecture which is composed of about fifty-four members.

Under the care of the municipal authorities there are four municipal hospitals, one for men and one for women in Pera and one for men and one for women in Stamboul.

3. The Directorate of Public Security

There is an important department called *Emniyeti oumoumiyé müdirieti* (Directorate of Public Security), which is directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior. This is the central office for affairs concerning the security and tranquillity not alone of the city, but of the whole of the Ottoman Empire. It attends to the transfers and advancement of policemen and their general administration.

To carry out the work of this Department there are the following officials:

Birinji shübé müdiri (Director of the 1st Branch).
Ikinji shübé müdiri (Director of the 2nd Branch).
Uchünji shübé müdiri (Director of the 3rd Branch).
Deurdünjü shübé müdiri (Director of the 4th Branch).
Beshinji shübé müdiri (Director of the 5th Branch).
Ejanib müdiri (Director of Affairs concerning Foreigners).
Teakibati adliyé müdiri (Director of Judicial Prosecutions).
Mouhasebé müdiri (Director of Office of Accounts).
Seir-ou-sefer müdiri (Director of Affairs concerning Journeys).

4. The Police Administration

The fourth Department responsible to the Minister of the Interior is the Police *Müdirieti oumoumiyesi,* or Police Administration.

The Police Department of Stamboul Province, unlike that of the other provinces, is directly responsible to the Ministry of the Interior. It is managed by a Director General, Police müdiri oumoumisi, and his assistant, both appointed by imperial decree.

The chief offices in the central Police Department are:

Birinji shübé müdiri (Director of 1st Branch).
Ikinji shübé müdiri (Director of 2nd Branch).
Uchünjü shübé müdiri (Director of 3rd Branch).
Deurdünjü shübé müdiri (Director of 4th Branch).
Mouhasebé memourloughou (Accountant's Office).
Heyeti sihhiyé (Sanitary Commission).
Police hastahanesi heyeti sihhiyesi (Sanitary Commission of Police Hospitals).

Constantinople is divided into police districts or central police stations, over each of which there is a Merkez Memourou or Chief of Police. On the Asiatic side of the

Bosphorus there are six chief districts, all under a superior official located at Scutari. These districts are as follows:

Üsküdar (Scutari)	Chengelkeuy
Iskelé	Kiziltoprak
Chinili	Kadikeuy

For the rest of the city there are the following districts depending directly on the Ministry of Police:

Bayezid	Oun Kapan	Deniz	Dolabdéré
Aya Sophia	Fatih	Pera	Taxim
Koum Kapou	Fener	Pancalti	Haskeuy
Samatia	Eyoub	Beshiktash	Arnaoutkeuy
Ak Serai	Kara Geumrük	Galata	Beuyükdéré
Emin Eunü	Shehr Emini	Kassim Pasha	

In each police district there are sub-districts managed by assistants.

The Police Department is further dealt with in the Chapter on Adult Delinquency.

The Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Departments are now administered by a Director General and are dependent on the Ministry of Finance.

The courts of the municipality of Constantinople are under the Ministry of Justice. These courts are dealt with in the Chapter on Adult Delinquency.

VIII. Interallied Control

The Interallied Control is in the hands of the High Commissioners of Great Britain, France, and Italy. This body operates through the following commissions:

1. Police Commission.
2. Sanitary Commission.
3. Food Commission.
4. Prison Commission.
5. Censorship Bureau and Control of Telegrams.
6. Interallied Requisition Commission.
7. Passport Bureau.

1. Police Commission

a. Police Forces

There are two complete forces of police—the native police, who have control of all the native peoples of the country; and the Interallied Police, consisting of 30 officers and 351 men, one-third from the English, one-third from the French, and one-third from the Italian. The Interallied Police do not interfere with the native police except in two particulars: First, they insist that the native police get their salaries regularly. Second, they insist that the native police, if found negligent of their duty in any part of the city, be dismissed and new men substituted. Colonel Ballard, who is the head of the Interallied Police, meets with the native Police Commissioner once a week, and hands in any complaints that may have come to him, and insists upon their immediate correction.

The Interallied Police never interfere with the native police except for very special reasons. They exercise supervision only over foreigners, with the above exceptions. Fines for rapid driving and exceeding speed limit aggregate about Ltq. 2000 monthly. There is a Police School in Stamboul under the superintendency of a British drill sergeant. It has about 80 pupils.

b. Courts

(1) Native courts, over which the Interallied Police have absolutely no control. In these only Turkish subjects are tried.

(2) Interallied police courts, in which foreign subjects are tried. They are magisterial courts, for trying minor offenses against municipal or sanitary regulations, violations of traffic and speed laws, carrying arms, etc. The fine is Ltq. 10 for carrying a knife and Ltq. 50 for a revolver. Search is made for concealed arms. Suspected quarters are

barricaded by means of machine guns, and all are searched. At first as many as fifty revolvers would be taken in a raid, but now rarely more than one. Pera is worse than Stamboul, on account of rich cafés. At first punishment for carrying arms was "death—or such less punishment as case merits."

c. Vagrancy and Begging

The Interallied Police interfere with this merely to a limited extent. The worst cases are sent to the public poorhouse, for the support of which a tax of ten per cent is levied on the income of all entertainment houses of the city, such as theaters, cinemas, etc. The Interallied Police try to cut down begging, but in an Oriental country sweeping reforms cannot be made.

2. Sanitary Commission

The Sanitary Commission is a body composed of representatives from each of the three Allied Powers, and one representative from the Greeks; also three delegates who were formerly advisers to the embassies; and the medical officer from U.S.S. *St. Louis*. This Commission at first met every week, but now meets every fortnight. Originally there were under the control of this Commission both maritime affairs and city affairs. At present, two commissions exist: First, the Maritime Commission, having to do with all matters pertaining to stopping and quarantining ships, etc., is under French control, and the president is a French medical officer. Second, the Urban Commission, controlling the town, is under the presidency of the British Director of Medical Service, GHQ., Colonel Martin. This Commission discusses all matters pertaining to the health of the town. There is a Turkish representative who brings certain information to be laid before the Commission. The

Commission is in constant touch with Turkish doctors who report daily all cases of contagious diseases, etc.

a. Street Cleaning is under the control of this Commission, but this control is not absolute, only advisory. The cleaning of the streets is a function of each prefect—the Allies have provided no money for this purpose, and the Turks have very little. The main job is to press the Turks to produce the money. The Commission assists the Turks in a material way by giving some supplies, providing carts, selling mules, etc. Several lorries have been placed at the disposal of the Turks for this purpose. The Department of Street Cleaning is in charge of a Turkish medical officer, and he is usually accompanied by a British lady doctor. People throwing refuse into the streets are brought up by the Allied Police for examination and fined.

b. Drainage System is also under Turkish officials. The Turks are poor engineers, so that the Turkish medical officer in charge of street cleaning (who is an extremely capable man) has taken over the supervision of street repairs and drain mending. To show that the work is not exactly small, Captain Hobson said that in one month 250 main drains in the city were broken or stopped up and had to be repaired. The chief difficulty is lack of funds. At the present moment the employees of the Department of Infectious Diseases have not received their last month's wages.

c. Prostitution.—The Interallied Police insist upon some sections of the city being considered "out of bounds," which means that Allied troops cannot enter such sections. The Interallied Police assume no supervision of these districts, which are wholly in the hands of the Turkish police. There are recognized districts accessible to foreigners, especially soldiers, and these are under the constant supervision of an officer, who insists that no disease shall be found in the houses. A license is given to the woman who has charge of the house, and if any disease is detected, the license is at

once cancelled. The women are not allowed either on the streets or in the doorways of their houses, and they are not allowed to solicit. The Interallied Police insist upon the closing of these houses at 11:30 P.M. About Ltq. 1000 per month is collected in fines for the presence of disease, and disregarding of the closing hour. If disease is found in any house, action is taken only through the Turkish medical officer, who closes the house.

There are certain dispensaries here for the registration of prostitutes, who are required to report once a week for examination.

All this machinery existed before; the Allies merely see that the various regulations are carried out. Any official can be at once dismissed by the Sanitary Commission for neglect of duty. The doctors are not Allied subjects, but natives, such as Persians, Arabs, and Turks.

3. Food Commission

Food control is under the joint commission of foreigners and natives, over which Colonel Woods presides. The same commission exercises control over the fuel supply. In regard to food, prices are fixed for staple necessities only.

4. Prison Commission

The Prison Commission is controlled by the British, French, and Italians. Little more is done than to see that the prisons are kept in good condition.

5. Censorship Bureau and Control of Telegrams

The censorship of the press is under the three High Commissioners, working with the native government censorship. All the newspapers published in Constantinople must be submitted to this body before they are issued. There is no censorship of the Turkish Post Office, and there is a censorship of domestic telegrams only.

6. Interallied Requisition Commission

This Commission is composed of a representative of each of the three great Allied Powers. They requisition buildings, military stores, railway material, and such things as are necessary from a military standpoint.

7. Passport Bureau

The Passport Bureau consists of three sections: British section, under the officer commanding the Army of the Black Sea; French section, under the French High Commissioner; Italian section, under the Italian High Commissioner.

8. Naval and Military Commission

This consists of the Naval Commission controlling the Ministry of Marine, Commander Birkett, and the Commission controlling the War Office, General Shuttleworth, Gallieni Barracks.

9. Harbor Control

This is under the Captains of the Port, French, Italian, and English. Formerly there was a Russian representative on this Commission. The Captains of the Port call upon the Allied Police to enforce the regulations concerning

a. Quarantine: There is an inspection station in operation on a boat just off Haidar Pasha, and every boat going out and every boat coming in must report to this station, where every passenger on board is carefully examined by the officers. Any one guilty of infringing the regulations is imprisoned or fined by the Interallied Police.

b. Passports: All passports are examined at this inspection station by the Interallied Police and any irregularities are reported to the Passport Bureau. An Interallied Commission on the quay either approves or rejects the visés of

the passports inspected. This, however, in no way affects the operations of the inspection station. Every passport is also examined there.

IX. Estimated Income of the Vilayet of Constantinople for the Year 1336 (1920)

These additions to the General Taxes of the Government are imposed upon the people to defray the expenses of the Vilayet.

	Ltq.
Additions made to Tithes	22,500
" to Land Tax	20,000
" from Commercial Income Tax	8,500
" to Taxes for Sheep, Camels, Buffaloes, Pigs	400
" to Transfer Fees, Inheritance Fees	25,000
" to Land Tax, Building and Immovable Properties	20,000
" to Business Income Tax	8,500
" on the War Tax, for Roads	3,200
Income from other sources:	
Road Tax	15,000
From the Cinemas	4,000
Fees for Permits issued by the Province	150
Profits Income from Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Institutions (Rent of ground for fairs, for use of agricultural implements and income of the schools administered by the Government)	6,400
Income from Buildings and other Permits	2,030
Value or Price of things sold	200
Income of the Primary Education	465,550
Refunds	250
Miscellaneous Income	250
Ltq.	601,930

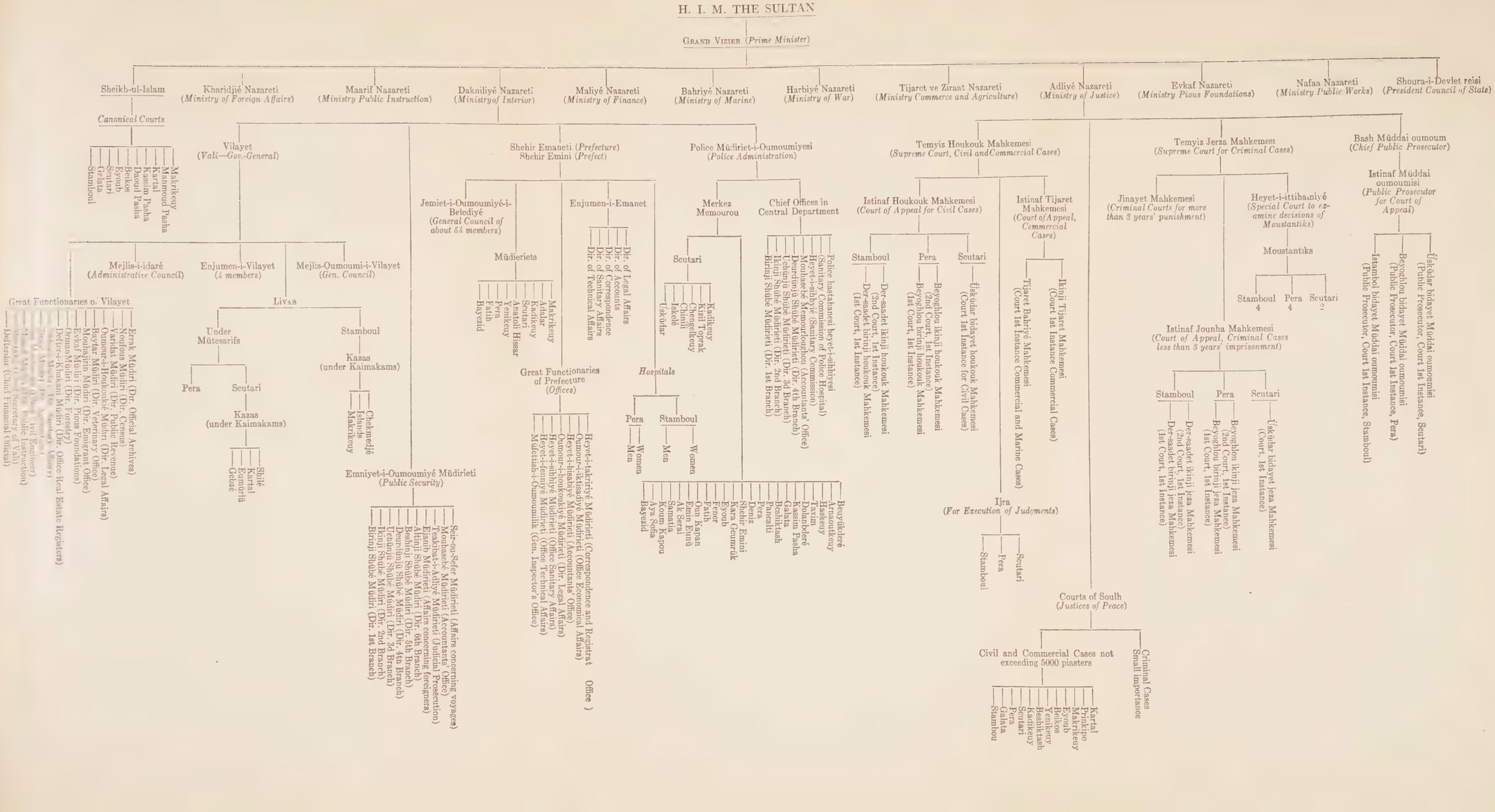
X. Appropriations for Expenses of the Vilayet of Constantinople for the Year 1336 (1920)

General Council and Special Accountant's Office of the Vilayet:

	Ltq.	Ltq.
Salaries paid Members for expenses of Emjumeni Vilayet (Vilayet Council), including salaries of Director and Officials in Accountant's Office	1,845	
Office of Enjumeni Vilayet (Vilayet Council)	2,346	
Paid by People for Road Tax and for Primary Education	3,312	

	Ltq.	Ltq.
Different Employees	420	
Miscellaneous—Traveling Expenses, Furniture, Light and Fuel, Stationery, Rental, etc.	858	9,489
Roads and Bridges—Salaries of Engineers, Clerks, Workmen, Repairs and Transportation of Tools, etc.		5,996
Educational:		
Salaries of Inspectors and their Traveling Expenses, salaries of Secretaries and other Employees of Primary Education, Stationery, Light, Fuel for the Department of Maarif	6,700	
Salaries of Girls' (Fine Arts) Schools, etc.	2,690	
Expenses of Primary Education, of Salaries of the Teachers of Primary Schools, etc.	111,384	
Paid for Teachers who are teaching Turkish in Non-Turkish Schools	1,974	
Miscellaneous: Expenses for repairing Schools, Traveling Expenses and Rent	35,500	158,248
Agricultural, Veterinary, and Industrial Affairs:		
Salaries of Director and Employees at Model Farm at Arpayi	1,238.60	
Permanent Expenses of above School	4,650.80	
Forestry: Necessary Expenses to Establish Places for Forests	972.00	
Depot of Agricultural Supplies:		
Salaries	864.00	
Expenses of Office	1,350.00	
Salaries and Expenses of Officials employed at Fine Stock Depot	4,496.60	13,572
Charitable and Sanitary Affairs:		
Salaries and Expenses of the Departments for the Purpose of Giving Sanitary and Charitable Assistance		2,925
Miscellaneous Expenses:		
Shares to be paid to Agricultural Bank from Tithes	7,500	
For the Roads to Municipality	7,500	
For Assessing and Collecting the amounts for Road Tax, Primary Education, from which is paid	8,700	
Expenses of the Buildings of the Vilayet	7,500	
Expenses of the Court	50	
Paid to Lawyer	200	
Refunds	1,000	
Extraordinary Appropriations to be given to Special Employees and Officials	385,000	
Unforeseen Expenses	1,000	411,700
		601,930

Graphic Representation of the Administration Offices.



IV

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

ELIZABETH DODGE HUNTINGTON

OUTLINE

I. Churches
   1. Greek Orthodox
   2. Greek Protestant
   3. Armenian Gregorian
   4. Armenian Protestant
   5. Bulgarian Orthodox
   6. Bulgarian Catholic
   7. Russian Orthodox
   8. French Roman Catholic
   9. French Protestant
   10. The Church of England
   11. Evangelical Union

II. Mosques

III. Mohammedan Dervish Orders

IV. Jewish Synagogues

V. Young Men's Christian Association

VI. Young Women's Christian Association

VII. Clubs and Societies

VIII. Masonic Orders

I. Churches

1. Greek Orthodox

a. Membership

All persons of Orthodox Greek parentage are considered as members of the Greek Orthodox Church from birth.

b. Services

There are short daily morning and evening prayers in all the churches. Many churches hold longer services on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, as well as on Sunday. On feast days, especially on Epiphany, Good Friday, and Easter, the mass is elaborate, and at night there are processions through the streets, with crowds of people carrying candles, a large cross, and banners.

c. Attendance

The churches in populous communities are well filled on Sundays and are crowded on feast days. At the Church of the Holy Virgin in Pera, for instance, there are two Sunday services, one from 7 to 9:30, and the other from 9:30 to 11 A.M. Both are usually crowded, from 2000 to 4000 attending the two services.

d. Music

There is no instrumental music, but the larger churches have choirs, each consisting usually of four trained men and a number of boys, all of whom are paid. Smaller churches have one or two men singers, who are sometimes assisted by boys.

e. Condition of the Churches

The church buildings are usually of stone or of brick and plaster. The exterior is often blue and white, and the interior is elaborately decorated. They are clean, and generally in good repair; and all except the old ones are well lighted. They have hanging chandeliers, many of which now have artificial candles lighted with electricity. Many churches are heated with stoves, while others are unheated. There are seats around the walls and also in the choir of the church, and rows of seats in the women's gallery. Women are now allowed to sit or stand below, but many women prefer the gallery, where there are more seats and more room. The churches contain many paintings and numerous ikons richly ornamented with silver.

The old Byzantine Church of the Holy Virgin at Mouhlio Phanar is an example of Byzantine architecture of the thirteenth century, filled with ikons, chandeliers, and other ornaments. It escaped the fate of being converted into a mosque because it was presented by the Conqueror as a reward to the Greek architect Christoboulos, who built the mosque of Mohammed II. If we could count all the Byzantine churches which became mosques after the conquest in 1453, we would have a long list, among the oldest of which are St. Irene, near St. Sophia, built by Justinian, now a Turkish military museum; Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, also built by Justinian, but now a mosque called Kütchük Aya Sofia; and the Church of St. John the Baptist, near Yedi Koule, built in 463, later turned into a mosque, and now in ruins.

f. Management

The Greek Church is governed by a Synod composed of twelve Metropolitans. There are also eight laymen elected by the people of Constantinople who, with the coöperation

of the four Metropolitans appointed by the Patriarch from the Synod, form the Mixed National Council. In cases of emergency the Patriarch sometimes calls these lay members of the Mixed Council to meet with the Synod. The Patriarch is president of the Synod. The Patriarch is elected by a special council consisting of first, members of the Synod; second, all archbishops who were in Constantinople when the former Patriarch died or resigned; third, representatives of the various Greek communities of Constantinople and of the twenty-six so-called first class dioceses in Turkey outside of Constantinople. The Patriarch holds a double office, being Archbishop of Constantinople, besides being President of the Synod which represents all Greeks in the Turkish Empire. Smyrna and Thrace are still under the Constantinople Patriarchate. In the coming election of the Patriarch this year (1921) in Constantinople, Smyrna and Thrace will take part.

There are also Patriarchs in Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. In Greece there is no Patriarch, but the Archbishop of Athens is also president of the Holy Synod.

Each community, generally consisting of several parishes, has as many committees as there are churches for the purpose of managing the different churches and schools connected with them. Such committees are elected by the vote of the men of the parish.

The churches are supported by subscriptions, collections, donations, fees, sale of candles in the church vestibules, and in some cases by rents from property. At the same service there may be as many as seven collection plates passed for different objects. There are as many as five classes of church fees for baptism, marriage, and burial, and a person chooses the class which corresponds to his income. Contributions for church support are thus fixed voluntarily according to the financial position of each family. The amount of money required for each class varies in the different dis-

tricts. In Bebek, rather a small community, for example, the amount is from one lira (80 cents) for class one, down to twenty-five piasters (20 cents) for lower classes. Only a few of the churches are in debt, and those which are in debt have become so on account of war conditions, high prices, and the failure of some of the regular income.

Priests are of two classes, the higher and the lower clergy. Bishops and archbishops are all celibates and are graduates of a theological school, such as the one on the Island of Halki near Constantinople. Other priests who aspire to these positions must not marry. All parish priests except those who are candidates for higher office must be married.

Some of the parish priests are graduates of the theological school, while others have had but little education. Unmarried priests sometimes live in a church building, an annex to the church, but this is not compulsory. In important parishes, such as Pera, with three large churches and fourteen parish priests, every priest in turn serves for one year in each church of that parish, beginning September 1, the opening of the ecclesiastical year.

Priests are called by the people to their homes for special rites and prayers, for which they are paid. This money goes into the church treasury and is put aside as a special fund to be later divided among the clergy. Deacons assist the priests in mass and ceremonies. The priests in the large churches are graduates of Halki Seminary, and may receive as much as 150 liras ($120) a month, although this is not a fixed salary. The priests of the smaller churches may receive an average of fifty liras ($40), though the amount varies greatly in different parishes. The deacon's salary varies from about thirty to eighty liras ($24 to $64) a month.

The larger parishes have a bishop in charge. The Bishop of Pera is a graduate of a German seminary.

g. Community Activities

(1) Care of the Poor: Some philanthropic work is done by the district committee, and alms are given to all the poor in most of the churches on great feast days, especially on Christmas and Easter. It is difficult to discover how much help is given systematically by different philanthropic associations, but there are certain parishes, notably Tatavla, where money is given regularly every month and records of this are kept. Near the Tatavla Church is a large house with a school and athletic club belonging to a philanthropic society, where money as well as clothes and food are distributed. This is a center where there is organized neighborhood work, such as evening classes, social and literary activities; more could be added to what is already being done along these lines. The principal aim of the churches is to support the schools of the community and other Greek national schools. The Church of St. Constantine in Pera gave one half of its income in 1920 to the community schools.

The churches of each parish combine to help their district. In Galata, for instance, the three churches help to support the four parish schools—a primary school, a school for boys, a school for girls, and a commercial school. The churches also give free lunches to the poor children in these schools, as follows: in November, 1920, free lunches were given to 2616 pupils; in December, 1920, to 5536 pupils.

The churches contribute to the Orphan Central Committee, which runs the orphanages under the Patriarchate, and to the Hospital Committee, which cares for the National Hospital at Yedi Koule.

The Greek Boy Scouts are a large organization with over 2000 members. They help some of the churches by being present at the crowded services to keep order.

In connection with Holy Trinity is a night school with a budget of over Ltq. 3000 ($2400) yearly. This organization makes it possible for many working boys to attend school. In Arnaoutkeuy there is a night school with an attendance of a hundred boys.

2. Greek Protestant

There is only one church, the Greek Evangelical Church, which was organized in 1888. It has no building of its own, but holds services in the American Bible House, Stamboul, and in the Swedish Legation Chapel, Pera. There are 80 church members and an average attendance of 100 on Sundays. The church is supported by voluntary contributions, and an annual donation from the American Board. There is no debt. Reed organs are used, but there is no choir. There are a young men's society and a tract society. Contributions are made each year for work among the poor, and for missionary and Bible societies.

3. Armenian Gregorian

a. Membership

All Armenians are considered members of the church from the day of their baptism. Consequently there is no fixed number of registered members.

b. Services

The services of the Gregorian Church have a definite form and must take place without omission every morning and evening as follows:

Morning Service: After a preparatory service for the priests, hymns are chanted, Psalms are read responsively, portions of the Old and New Testament are read, and prayers are offered.

Evening Service: This lasts about one hour. The life

of the saint for that day is read, also Psalms and portions of the Old and New Testaments. There are also prayers and hymns.

On Sundays after the morning service, which is longer than on week days, there follows a Mass which is also celebrated on week days when coincident with feast days.

The complete services of the Armenian Church, used especially in monasteries are: (1) Night service. (2) Morning service. (3) Mass. These three follow one another uninterruptedly. (4) Evening service. (5) Retiring service. These follow each other uninterruptedly.

In Lent there take place daily Meal and Peace services, the first of these at midday, and the last between the Evening and Retiring services.

c. Attendance

On Sundays the services are usually attended by from one third to one fourth of the total population of the district; on feast days the proportion is one half. At the week-day services only a small number of old people are present, because their work prevents others from attending.

d. Music

The music in the Armenian Church is largely solo and choral. Instrumental music has not been approved. According to an ancient custom the choir is accompanied by cymbal and cithern, and sometimes an organ is used. Recently the songs of the Mass have been sung in trio; before this it was a single voice.

In the Armenian choruses the whole congregation does not join in singing, but there is a choir of specially trained men and schoolboys. In many churches these form unions or societies which are called choir unions. Some of these have their own property. The choir unions of St. George of Psamatia, of the Patriarchate in Koum Kapou, of the

Holy Archangel, of Balat, and the Holy Cross of Scutari, are organizations from 175 to 250 years old, and have been continued uninterruptedly. In the other churches choir unions have been formed more recently.

Membership in the choir is an honorary position, but every church has a paid music teacher, who teaches the ecclesiastical songs to the schoolboys, and leads the choir during services. On account of the importance given to the Armenian ecclesiastical music, during the latter part of the eighteenth century some musical experts, seeing the necessity of notes, invented Armenian notes; the reason for the superiority of these over European notes is that they are written without portée (musical lines) and are more adapted to Oriental pieces. For a long time the Armenian notes were used by the musical bands of the Ottoman armies.

e. Condition of the Churches

In general the churches are clean and fairly light, and few need repairs. Some of them have seats. Some are heated by stoves. There are many paintings of saints and a number of altars. During Lent these are covered with dark hangings as a sign of mourning.

f. Management

The Armenian National Assembly, which meets in Galata, is composed of 120 [1] representatives elected by the Armenian communities in all parts of the Turkish dominions. It has supreme authority in national affairs. It elects the Patriarch, who acts as President of the National Assembly and of the Synod, and the Civil Council. The Assembly, however, can replace the Patriarch whenever

[1] Of these only 24 are representatives of the different ranks of the clergy, the rest laymen.

it desires. The Patriarch is the political representative of the Armenian people before the Sublime Porte. The patriarchal Church is at Koum Kapou, Stamboul. A national constitution was adopted in 1863 under which national and local affairs are administered. This constitution was abolished by the Turkish Government during the Great War, and the Patriarch, Zaven, was deported. Thanks to the intervention of the American Ambassador, he was not killed, and after the Armistice he was allowed to return and the constitution was restored.

The Patriarchate is directed by two councils: the Civil, composed of fourteen laymen, and the Religious, composed of fourteen clergymen. The two meet together, for matters concerning both, to form a Mixed Council.

The Civil Council, or Cabinet, has seven committees which it elects, of seven members each (except in one case there are eight and in one nine members), as follows: Educational Committee, Economic Commission, Judicial Committee, Committee on Monasteries, Financial Ephory, Commissions on Wills and Legacies, and a Hospital Ephory, having charge of affairs as their names indicate.

There is also one combined Armenian National Assembly, with representatives of the Gregorian, Catholic, and Protestant Assemblies, to unite the whole nation, as the need for such union is great. The heads of the three churches are presiding officers. There are two committees, each of which is composed of one member appointed by the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate, one by the Protestant Askabed, and the rest by the Armenian Patriarchate. They are:

1. Finance Committee, of seven members, to collect the national tax imposed since 1918, to help the orphans and other needy Armenians.

2. Cabinet of National Relief Work, of six members, to care for the orphanages and deportees.

Under the Constitution there is a District Committee in

each Armenian community consisting of five to twelve laymen, according to the size of the district, and elected by popular vote of all men over twenty-one years of age in the district, for a term of four years. All men over thirty years of age are eligible for office. The function of the committee is the management of the national affairs of the people of the community; the trusteeship of the church and school; the care of the poor; the settlement of disputes; and the registration of all births, marriages, and deaths in the district. The committee elects its own chairman. It has its office in one of the church rooms.

The District Committee dispenses the community fund for the benefit of the church and the school, and for charity. This fund is raised mainly by gifts from all the people, given either in the church collection, or as yearly donations. Sometimes property is given, which brings in a certain amount of revenue. Contributions are all voluntary, but since the war, with the overwhelming need for orphanages, a tax has been imposed on all Armenians in Constantinople, according to their income, for the care of orphans. If this tax is not paid, a man loses his right to vote in the district or National Assembly, and may not receive the rites of the church. Fees for baptism, marriage, or funeral are a small fixed sum, but most people give more. These are divided between the priests and the various philanthropies. The Armenian Churches of Constantinople have no debts, for their budget is covered by their fixed revenues, which very seldom fail.

The priests are of two classes; first, the parish priests, who must be married before ordination. They often have their own homes, but it is the custom for one priest to spend the night in the church precincts always, and a room is provided. Usually the priests receive no fixed salary, but are supported by the church. In very poor districts a small salary is provided from the Patriarchate. Second,

are the higher clergy, vartabeds, bishops, etc., who have had theological training, and are celibates, a regulation observed since the fifth century. Vartabeds and bishops, who are connected with some church, receive a salary for a season, or by the year from that church.

g. Community Activities

(*1*) *Care of the Poor:* In some important districts the work of helping the poor has been regularly organized, with sub-committees of the District Committee. Sometimes separate societies called "charitable institutions" are formed. These take care of the sick poor by providing them with medical care, milk, and meat free of charge. On feast days the committee distributes small gifts to the poor of the district, such as rice, beans, eggs, and charcoal. Baptism and funeral services for such are free of charge.

(*2*) *Societies and Clubs:* There are societies and clubs in almost every district of Constantinople for literary, musical, dramatic, artistic, scientific, athletic, and philanthropic work. These are as follows:

In Koum Kapou:
1. Asbarez—a lecture club.
2. Asbarez—choir.
3. The Oriental Dramatic Club.
4. Ladies' Progressive Society.

In Pera:
1. Adrooshan—literary and musical mixed society.
2. Artistic musical society.
3. Armenian Young Men's Association.
4. Navasart—literary, artistic, and scientific society.
5. Astghik—literary society.
6. Association of former students of Essayan School.
7. Gaitz (spark).
8. Rostom—literary society.

In Kadikeuy:
1. Free Lecture Society.
2. Educational (Education-lovers') Society.

3. Armenian Club.
4. Charitable Society.

In Psamatia:
1. Zhoghovourt (People) Armenian Society.
2. Masis (orchestra).

In Makrikeuy:
1. Popular Lecture Society.
2. Srink (Flute).

In Knali: (Proti).
1. Nevak—Lecture Society.

In Scutari:
1. Ladies' Society.
2. "Raffi" Progressive Society.
3. Dramatic Club.
4. Ayk (morning).
5. Ardavazt (dramatic).
6. Charitable (orphans) Society.
7. Armenian Athletic Association.
8. Committee of the "Scutari Orchestra."
9. Former Students of Berberian School.
10. Former Students of Girls' College.

In Gedik Pasha:
1. Knar (lyra) Musical Association.
2. Oshagan Young Men's Association.

In Yeni Kapou:
1. Zartonk (Reveillee) Society.
2. Nor-ayk (New-dawn) Society.

In Ortakeuy:
1. Benevolent (Paresiratz) Society.
2. Charitable (Orphans) Society.

In Haskeuy:
1. Artzive (Eagle) Lecture Society.
2. Shoushan (Lily) Armenian Girls' Association.
3. Boy Scouts.
4. Tashnak and Azadagan (political).
5. Social Gatherings (dancing, music, theatricals).

In Roumeli-Hissar:
1. Ararat (club).

In Beshiktash:
1. Aharonian Club.
2. Gamk (Will) Young Ladies' Society.

In Kartal:
1. Ararat Society.
In Top Kapou:
Gougounian Lecture Society.
In San Stefano:
Nor-ouzh (New Energy).
In Arnaoutkeuy:
Hayanever (Orphanage) Society.

Besides these, in almost every principal district there exist the branches of the Armenian Athletic General Association, and the branches of the Armenian Red Cross. Some of these societies are composed of women who work for the community; others are composed of the young people. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid II, all existing Armenian societies were forbidden, one by one. In 1908 many new societies were formed, but during the war of 1914 to 1918 they were again stopped. Immediately after the Armistice many were established, and their number is increasing. One, called "United Associations," to promote education in the Turkish Empire, was suppressed by the Government. Another called "Benevolent Associations," to promote all benevolent causes among Armenians, is a prominent organization.

These two represent the largest and most prominent organizations among the Armenians. H. E. Nubar Pasha is the founder and the president for life of the latter association. There is also a woman's society connected with the church of the Holy Trinity which does excellent work.

4. Armenian Protestant

Five Churches

1. Vlanga Church, located in Gedik Pasha, and founded in 1850. Pastor: Rev. H. A. Djedjizian. This church is erecting its own building, and hopes to receive more funds

for this purpose from America. It holds its regular services at present in the basement of the new building, with an average attendance of 120. There are a Ladies' Auxiliary and a Christian Endeavor Society. The church is supported by contributions of the congregation, and by a gift from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Money is given to the poor and also to orphanages and hospitals.

2. *Emmanuel Church,* Bible House, Stamboul; founded in 1908. Pastor: Rev. G. H. Stambollian, who preaches in Turkish to a crowded house of 300 every Sunday. The church is supported by the congregation and by a contribution from the Bible House Trustees. Money is raised for charitable institutions.

The Young Men's Brotherhood and the Women's Society were stopped during the war, but are being reorganized.

3. *Haskeuy Church,* Haskeuy, built in 1856. Minister: Mr. Benjamin Bedrossian. This church is in a very poor district. In it are held services on Sundays and a regular school with 93 pupils during the week. There are Boy Scouts connected with the church. This church joins morally and financially with the societies of the Armenian Gregorian Church of St. Stephen, Haskeuy. The pastor visits the poor, and gives systematic aid to poor widows and orphans, through gifts from the Near East Relief and money from others.

4. *Ainali Cheshme Church,* Pera. This was the first Evangelical Church of Constantinople, organized in 1845, at the beginning of the Protestant movement among the Armenians. The present building was constructed about twenty years ago. It is clean, light, in good repair, with a fine pipe organ and choir, seats for 300 people, and is heated. It has its own parsonage (at present rented). There are 60 members, with an attendance on Sundays of

100 to 150, and at prayer meeting on Thursday evenings of 20 to 25. The church is self-supporting, and has no debt. The minister, Krikor Boghossian, receives only a small salary, as he also works for the Swiss Mission. The regular pastor has been absent for several years.

There are four rooms and a hall, used for receptions, meetings, etc. There are a woman's society, a girls' club, Boy Scouts, and a Sunday school. Money is sometimes given to the poor and to orphans.

5. *American Mission Chapel, Scutari.* This is in a building of the American Board and was started about fifty years ago. The building holds 300 people, and needs some repairs. It is supported by the American Board and by very small collections. Rev. H. H. Riggs is the acting pastor, and Miss Johanson, supported by the Swedish Mission, is the church worker. This is not an organized church, as the members of the congregation belong to other churches. The attendance on Sunday morning is about 100, but is steadily growing. There is also a Tuesday afternoon meeting for women, and a Wednesday evening prayer meeting, and a Sunday school of about 100 children. There is a choir and an organ. There is a large room under the chapel, and the building is rented to Armenians for entertainments, concerts, etc. No money is raised for other objects, except for the poor.

5. *Bulgarian Catholic*

The Bulgarian Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity, in Galata, was a private house transformed into a small church in 1878. It is visited by Bulgarians who recognize the Pope as the head of the Christian Church. The service is conducted in Old Slavic, according to the rites of the Eastern Church. For this reason a good many orthodox Bulgarians go to the Holy Trinity Church on Sundays, the other Bulgarian churches being too far away.

6. Bulgarian Orthodox

The Bulgarian Orthodox Church of St. Stephen, at Phanar, was consecrated on September 6, 1898. It was erected by the humble donations of the Bulgarian colony in Constantinople on a lot ceded by Stephen Bogoridi, a Bulgarian of great influence occupying a prominent position in the Turkish Government. Formerly he had his winter residence on the same spot. The church was erected as a monument commemorative of the place where the peaceful struggle against the Greek Patriarchate was begun. It is a fine large iron structure painted white, and is in good repair. It contains a large women's gallery. There are no seats. On Sundays there is an attendance of about 100, but on great feast days as many as 1000 Bulgarians come from all over the city. They have vocal music and a choir on feast days.

The church is supported by gifts of the members and by fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. There is no debt. There are two priests and a deacon. They receive from 60 to 80 liras ($48 to $64) a month besides some of the fees. One priest lives in the church building, but the others live at their own expense outside. The church is cared for by the trustees.

About 100 liras ($80) are given to the poor annually, and there is a society called Radost (gladness), which raises money among the Bulgarians for the support of the poor children in the schools. It gives warm food, clothes, and shoes, and gathers annually about 1000 to 2000 Turkish liras ($800 to $960). Money is also raised for the Bulgarian cemeteries.

The Bulgarian Exarchate, where the Exarch, the head of the Church resides, is situated in Chichli. In the garden back of the house is a small chapel where services are held, with a small attendance.

7. Russian Orthodox

a. St. Nicholas, at Harbieh, in the same garden with the Russian Hospital, was built by Czar Alexander II for the use of Russian soldiers and pilgrims passing through Constantinople for Palestine. It is a pretty building in Russian style, and contains a number of good pictures of saints. It accommodates about 500 and is nearly full at Sunday services. There is an average attendance of 100 on week days, morning and evening. There are three priests, two Russian and a Servian. They receive no salary, only the fees for baptisms, weddings, and funerals. They live in the hospital free of charge. The church is supported by collections, and money is raised for the wounded soldiers and the poor, and given to the Archbishop to distribute.

b. The Embassy Chapel is on the top floor of the Russian Embassy, Pera. It was founded by Czar Nicholas I, about 1860. It accommodates approximately 500, but is crowded on Sundays and feast days with many more than that number. Services are also held on Tuesdays, Saturdays, on the eve of feast days, and every day in Lent, at which there is an average of 100 people present. This chapel is supported by the Embassy and by collections. There is no debt. Money is contributed for Russian refugees and distributed by Archbishop Anastasius, head of the Russian churches in Constantinople. There are in this chapel one priest, one deacon, two readers, and a guardian, who receive monthly salaries of Ltq. 25 ($20) for the priest, and Ltq. 20 ($16) each for the others. There is a choir of fifteen men (some of them wounded soldiers) who receive altogether Ltq. 160 ($128) a month. The chapel is managed by a committee of twenty men.

c. Afonsky Monastery is a branch of the great Afonsky Monastery at Afon. They own a building on the main street of Galata, most of which is rented for revenue. A

part is occupied by a pharmacy and by a society for relief work for Russian refugees. There are five monks and two priests who live in the building, receiving no salary but their own living. On the top floor there is a small chapel with a capacity of 200 and an average Sunday attendance of 100. Regular morning and evening services are held, attended by about ten daily. The revenue received from the rent supports the chapel, and a part is also sent to help the parent monastery at Afon.

d. Churches are being started in schools, homes, and camps for Russian refugees. As an example of these, the investigator attended the dedication service on April 23, 1921, of the new church, organized for the 316 pupils of the Lycée Russe at Tophané. There is a small square hut for the altar and priests, well decorated by one of the students. In front of this is a long canvas roof against a high wall. Many of the children, however, stood out in the sun. The dedication service was conducted by Archbishop Anastasius and two priests in gorgeous vestments. There was chanting and singing by the school children, and after the service the Archbishop sprinkled holy water on the forehead of each child in turn. This church was given by Mr. Thomas Whittemore of the American-Russian Society.

8. French Roman Catholic

Basilique-Cathédrale, Pangalti.
Paroisse St. Pierre, Galata.
Paroisse Ste. Marie Draperis, Pera.
Paroisse St. Antoine, Pera (New and fine).
Paroisse Notre-Dame de Lourdes, Shishli.
Paroisse de Yedi-Koule, Yedi-Koule.
Englise St. Benoît, Galata.
Chapelle St. Louis de Pera, French Embassy.
Chapelle des RR.PP.Jesuites, Pera.
Paroisse de l'Assomption, Moda.
Eglise de Notre-Dame du Rosaire, Haidar-Pasha.

Eglise-Cathédrale des Arméniens Catholiques Ste. Marie Kadikeuy.

Also about 400 more small churches in Constantinople, mostly in the suburbs.

a. Membership

Roman Catholics become members of the church when they are baptized as infants. They take their first communion at the age of eight or ten, according to their intelligence, the time being decided by their parents after their first confession. Therefore there is no regular membership for the churches separately.

b. Services and Attendance

There is a daily mass in most churches at 6, 7, and 9 A.M. (The smaller churches omit the six o'clock mass). On Sunday, besides these, there is mass at 11 o'clock. At 4 or 5 P.M. there is Benediction, a devotional musical service with exposition of the Sacrament. High mass and Benediction are crowded. Communion at Easter time is the most important service of the year, and people must attend then (to be considered as church members) even if they come at no other time. The churches are, therefore, crowded at Easter. An average of sixty per cent of the congregations are women, and forty per cent men. The children have catechism classes on Sunday afternoon, taught by priests and nuns. The Old and New Testaments are taught and explained to them, but they do not read the Bible themselves. They have twenty minutes morning and evening prayers in the schools, and other religious teaching from the Bible.

c. Music

Practically all the churches have honorary choirs of boys (sometimes as many as fifty) who are trained in the schools

by nuns. St. Antoine is the only good-sized church without an organ.

d. Condition of the Churches

The churches are mostly in debt, because of war conditions. They used to be helped by the French Government until the separation of Church and State. Some of them, therefore, are in great need of repairs and additions, such, for example, as the church at Kadikeuy.

e. Management

Mgr. Dolci is the head bishop in Constantinople; he is both religious and diplomatic representative of the Pope. His residence and office are in Pangalti. Mgr. Cæsarino is the second bishop in position. They are both appointed by the Pope. The head bishop is usually sent to one place for life, while others are for only one to five years in one diocese.

The churches in Constantinople are under different Catholic orders, and they receive some funds from their parent houses of the same order in France. The following orders are established in the city: Capuchins—the poorest monks —Assumptionists, Lazarists, Jesuits, and Dominicans. There are a few Franciscans also, who preach in out-of-the-way places with no church or headquarters. The French Embassy Chapel is supported by the Embassy, but is controlled by the Capuchins.

Priests receive no salaries, but live in the church buildings and all necessary expenses are paid. All those in Constantinople, except Jesuits and Abbés, take the vow of poverty and own nothing.

f. Community Activities

(*1*) *Care of the Poor:* Each church separately cares for its poor, and Rome contributes money which the head bishop

distributes to different churches as needed, to which is added what they can raise for their own poor by collections, poor-box, gifts, and bazaars. The priests give this help. They spend their afternoons visiting the poor, so that they may intelligently give money, clothes, food, coal, etc. They are helped by the women of the churches through their societies, and by the laymen who organize bazaars.

(*2*) *Societies and Clubs:*

Following are some of the societies and clubs in Constantinople:

Society of St. Vincent de Paul.
Committee of the Latin Cemetery.
Association of the Sacred Heart.
Association of Our Lady of Assumption (for church unity).
Association of Ladies (work for the vestry and the poor).
Choristers' Club.
School Boys' Club.

Opportunities for recreation are given on holidays, with feasts and excursions.

(*3*) *Institutions under the Control of the Church:*

Little Sisters of the Poor (Home for the Aged), Shishli.
Hôpital de la Paix, Chichli.
French Hospital, Taxim. (This is under the French Government, but is run by Sisters, who give their services and are not paid.)
Orphanages, about 24.
Schools: Each church has its own school attached. St. Benoît School is connected with and administered by the church of that name. It has 600 students of many nationalities and religions, with Roman Catholics in the minority.

Le Collège des Frères, at Moda, has 800 students of all races and religions. Other schools are for Roman Catholics only. (For these institutions, see sections of the Survey on Children and Education).

9. French Protestant

The French Protestant Church at Ainali Cheshme, Pera, has a capacity of 400, and has 350 members. The average attendance on Sundays is fifty-five. The church is supported by the French military authorities. The pastor is Rev. J. Meteyer. A parsonage is provided. The church is in good repair. There is an organ and a choir. Money is given to the poor and also to French Protestant activities. There is a Y. M. C. A. and a Sunday school. For recreation there are lectures and walks. The activities are principally for the French troops.

10. The Church of England

Crimean Memorial Church, Pera.
British Embassy Chapel, Pera.
All Saints Church, Moda.

The *Crimean Memorial Church* is fifty-two years old. It seats about 200 people, and is a fine building in good repair. The average attendance at Sunday services is between forty and fifty. The church is supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and by voluntary contributions. There is no debt. The priest in charge is Rev. R. F. Borough. There is a small choir for liturgical purposes, and a good two-manual organ. There is a crypt which is used for occasional meetings. Formerly there were a Church of England Men's Society and a Girls' Friendly Society, which have not been reconstituted since the war. There is a catechism class for children.

In the Anglican Church there are no members of a spe-

cial church, but members belong to the whole diocese under the bishop. Anglicans in Constantinople, therefore, may go either to the Crimean Memorial Church, to the Embassy Chapel, or to All Saints at Moda. As ecclesiastical outsiders, the Anglican Church cannot accept the people of this country as members, only those of British or American nationality. The church can act, however, on behalf of the old (Catholic) body which has no church in Constantinople, and on this distinct understanding it ministers to Dutch, Swiss, Germans, and Austrians, and also to Poles and Czecho-Slovaks, owing to similar movements in their countries.

The British Embassy chapel, which is in the Embassy grounds, has a capacity of about 200. Canon F. C. Whitehouse is the rector. Services are held every Sunday. There is no institutional work. The chapel is supported by the Embassy.

11. Evangelical Union

The Evangelical Union Church of Pera includes Protestant denominations other than Episcopalians, and holds the Creed of the Evangelical Alliance. Services are held every Sunday in the chapel of the Dutch Legation, Pera, with an average attendance of 200. It is hoped that a new church with rooms for institutional purposes may be built. The church is supported by the rents from a large building in Pera. The Sunday collections, therefore, are used mostly for charities.

The minister may be called from any Evangelical body. The present incumbent is Rev. Robert Frew, D.D., of the Church of Scotland. His home is provided by the church.

The church is intended primarily for Europeans and Americans, but many native Christians attend the services. There is a Sunday school, a Ladies' Aid Society, and a Church Extension Committee.

II. Mosques

1. Government and General Information

The mosques are provided for by the Ministry of Evkaf. Every mosque has endowments or Vakufs, for example, contributions in the form of land, public baths, houses, etc. These are not restricted to mosques only, for türbés (tombs) medresés (theological schools), tekkés (monasteries), and fountains also have such foundations. The management of all these is entrusted to the Ministry of Evkaf.

The Minister of Evkaf, apart from the duties of his department, is a member of the Cabinet. On account of the very intimate relations between the Evkaf and the Sheikh-ul-Islamate, it has almost become a tradition that the Sheikh-ul-Islam should be the acting Minister of Evkaf. Lately this has been taken into consideration, and the Ministry was about to be changed into a Bureau under the Sheikh-ul-Islamate, but the project has been postponed for the present.

The Ministry is divided into bureaus; e.g., the office for Intendance, Treasury, etc. In every vilayet there is an office of Evkaf, whose personnel are appointed directly by the Minister of Evkaf.

Apart from the usual offices there is a council called "Shoura-i-Evkaf," whose members number between nine and fifteen. They are not heads of the offices, but especially appointed, and the council has a chairman. Important decisions related to the Vakufs are made in this council.

The Vakufs are contributed by the builders of mosques, fountains, and türbés, and by founders of medresé schools and tekkés, or by pious men who are eager to do something good. Many of the mosques, tekkés, etc., had their Vakufs in Hungary, Roumania, in various parts of the Bal-

Photograph by T. J. Damon

Fountain in the Courtyard of a Mosque

kans, in Syria, and Mesopotamia; but when these countries were lost by Turkey the Vakufs ceased to exist, unless some special agreement was entered into by the belligerent powers. For example, one of the Vakufs of Perteonial Validé Sultan (one of the richest in land in Albania), is at present governed from Constantinople.

Before the time of the ex-Sheikh-ul-Islam, Hairi Effendi, all the revenues from the Vakufs were given only to those mosques, türbés, etc., to which they legally belonged.

The mütevelis, or trustees of the mosques, türbés, etc., were appointed by the persons who built or founded them. They came into office at the death of the founder or builder. When a müteveli died his son inherited his position, and so the office continued in the family. A person might build not only a mosque, but fountains and türbés, and might found tekkés, medresés, almshouses, asylums for the poor, free soup-kitchens, and hospitals, and endow them. For example, he would give five farms for the mosque, two public baths for the türbé, etc. But he would appoint one trustee to look after all of them.

The mütevelis, either on account of their corruption, or on account of the abundance of the Vakufs, are extremely rich. During the Unionist administration this right of government was taken away from them and given to the ministry at Evkaf. At present the mütevelis are appointed by the Government. In some cases they are appointed from the privileged families (those who were appointed by the builders or founders), and sometimes from outside. As a protest to this act of the Government, the trustees have organized an association in order to defend their rights.

The Ministry of Evkaf now collects the revenues of all Vakufs by its own agents. It has inspectors to look after the mosques, etc., and to report their needs, and to make extra allowances besides their usual expenditures, when necessary. The mütevelis are now government employees.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam is the religious head of the Mohammedans. He is appointed by the Caliph and can be removed by him. He ranks after the Grand Vizier, and in case of the latter's illness or absence, is usually the one who acts in his name, presiding over the Cabinet meetings. In religious matters he acts in the name of the Caliph.

Attached to the Sheikh-ul-Islamate there is a body called "Dar-ul-Hikmet-ul-Islamié." It was founded two years ago with the purpose of uniting the greatest theologians of Turkey, so as to assist the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The number of members required by its constitution varies between nine and twelve. At present it has nine members only. They are appointed by the Sheikh-ul-Islam. This body is divided into three committees, each having a chairman; their duties concern Kelam (revelation), Fikh (canon law), and Ahlak (public morals). Their main purpose is to arrange the program of the studies in the medresé schools, to interpret the laws of Islam and the words of the Koran, to write and publish works relating to religion, to guard Islam against prejudices, and to elevate the morals of the Moslems. The members are not appointed for life, but can be removed at any time.

The medresé schools formerly numbered about 160. But through the destruction of the Vakufs, mismanagement, conflagrations, and various public necessities, most of them are now closed. Those which are open are maintained by the Evkaf, but the organization is under the Sheikh-ul-Islamate. The low buildings around the mosques served as dormitories for the students, and the lectures were delivered in different mosques. At present some have special buildings, so that the students are no longer obliged to go from one mosque to another. The most important medresés are: Medreset-ul-Kudat, Medreset-ul-Irshad, and Dar-ul-Khilafet-ul-Aliyé Medresesi.

The personnel of the mosques are appointed by the Evkaf exclusively. Formerly the office of the Imams (priests in charge of the mosques) was hereditary, but now Imams and Khatibs (preachers) must pass an examination and are required to be graduates of the Department of Imams and Khatibs of the Medreset-ul-Irshad. Some Imams also have secular positions. They are the lowest officials of the Ministery of the Interior, but only Imams of mosques having a Mahallé, or parish, discharge the rather responsible duty of keeping the records of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces. Some mosques have two Imams, others only one. The great mosque in the city of Medina has three hundred and sixty-five, so that during a year each Imam is busy only one day.

The duty of the Khatib is to preach and conduct the service on Fridays. Public prayer for the sovereign cannot be read in a mosque whose Khatib has not the Imperial sanction. In the mosques where it is allowed, the Khatib ascends the minber (pulpit) wearing his green robe and having a sword either in his hand or hanging at his side. He begins at the highest step of the minber and descends, preaching at the same time in Arabic. In Medina the Khatib is brought to the minber with his robe and sword, accompanied by two eunuchs, one at each side. He ascends, and delivers his sermon in the usual way.

The Müezzins chant and call the faithful to prayer five times a day from the minaret of the mosque.

The Imam distributes money to the poor which is given by those who want to help, but there are no committees. Each medresé school formerly had its own kitchen, which fed all the students free of charge, and left-overs were given to the poor. Since 1908 these kitchens have been discontinued, and now small sums for food are given to the students. Help to the poor has been given by the Red Crescent Society through its special doctors and kitchens.

Many of the mosques in Stamboul are now filled with refugees who lost their dwellings, and often their means of livelihood in the great fires which have destroyed large areas of the city within the last ten years.

2. Persian Mosques

There are two Persian mosques which are entirely separate from the Evkaf, as the Persians are Shiites and do not accept the Caliphate of the Sunnites. These mosques are supported by the eight or nine thousand Persians in Constantinople, but they have no regular services except during the months of Ramazan and Mouharrem, at which time they have special meetings and ceremonies. They have their own Persian Imams.

The Mosque of Hadji Hüssein Ali is near the great Scutari cemetery. This mosque was built sixty-nine years ago by the man who has given to it its name. It has since been rebuilt in 1921 by contributions of the Constantinople Persians. It is a fine large building, white and new, with ample columns and steps at the entrance. As this is primarily a funeral mosque, with the cemetery near by, in the basement there are three rooms, one for preparing the dead for burial, one a tea room, and another a kitchen, for the convenience of those who come so far from the city. There is one Imam who lives at the mosque and receives 40 liras ($32) a month. After the minaret is built there will be a Müezzin also. There are only two or three Persian Khatibs in Constantinople, and one comes to preach during Mouharrem. There is one regular assistant and two for funerals, receiving 20 to 50 liras ($16 to $40) a month and a home.

The Valideh Han is a large business han but it also contains a mosque, which was built in the eighteenth century. It holds from 200 to 300 people. There is one Imam, one Müezzin, and one assistant, who receive contributions but no regular salaries, and no home.

بكايع آثار عثمانيه

فیأتی : ۱۲ بچق غ

stantinople.

III. Mohammedan Dervish Orders

The Dervish Orders in Islam are an outgrowth and development of Oriental mysticism. Their members are committed to this or that "way" of union with God. The exact number of these Orders is not known. Unknown also is the exact number of the Sub-orders into which the major Orders are divided.

In Constantinople the Dervish Orders are a very significant aspect of the Moslem life of the city. The official government list contains the names of 161 Orders and Sub-orders. It is interesting to note that the Sennusi Order, the youngest and most puritanical of all, does not appear on this list. Fifteen other Orders not recorded in the official list have also been traced. Thus 177 Orders and Sub-orders are supposedly active in this city.

A place of assembly for members of a Dervish Order and residence for a smaller or larger number of them is called a "tekké." Each tekké is under the supervision of a "sheikh" of the Order. There are 258 tekkés in Constantinople, exclusive of private tekkés, or those not subsidized by the Government. Among these private tekkés are the eight centers of the famous Bektashi Order.

Thirteen Orders have been found which have five or more tekkés each in the city. They are the following:

Oushaki	5	tekkés	Sadiyé	23	tekkés
Mevleviyé	5	"	Sünbüliyé	23	"
Bektashi	8	"	Shabaniyé	25	"
Bedeviyé	8	"	Roufaiyé	36	"
Halvetiyé	13	"	Nakshiyé	65	"
Jerahiyé	14	"	Kadriyé	57	"
Djelvetiyé	22	"			

Each tekké has an official ceremony weekly. Each Order chooses its own special day; Thursdays and Fridays are the most popular. Each Order also has its own peculiar cere-

monies and customs, especially head-dress. For one who familiarizes himself with the differences in costume, the more crowded streets of Constantinople take on a new interest.

Membership records apparently are not kept. Statistics could not be ascertained. In addition to the sheikhs and professional dervishes there are lay adherents. The great majority of the members are laymen. They are in business, or are professional men, or are officials. As nearly as can be estimated each of the tekkés in Constantinople may be credited with an average weekly attendance of fifty members. Estimating that there are 300 tekkés, official and private, the monthly aggregate attendance would total 15,000.

The Dervish Orders of the city are under the administration of a Board of Dervishes, called the Mejliss-il-Meshaikh, consisting of seven members appointed from the sheikhs of the various Orders by the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The members of this Board, as well as the minor officials, including the sheikhs of the tekkés, are on government salary. The Board of Dervishes controls the Dervish Orders and tekkés not only in the capital but also throughout the country. It exercises its functions through two secretaries and a sub-committee of three inspectors, whose duty it is to see that the government regulations concerning Dervish Orders are observed. District committees for each Order are appointed in some cases. These regulations deal with the appointment of sheikhs as heads of the tekkés, the control and apportionment of endowment funds, the keeping of records, literary activity, discipline, and sanitation and hygiene. Private tekkés receive no government funds but are subject to Board control.

The social significance of the Dervish Orders is chiefly religious. The tekkés are centers of a more intimate brotherhood than the mosques and they nourish a community life

Council of the Whirling (Mevlevi) Dervishes in Session at Konia

Whirling (Mevlevi) Dervishes

which tends to be both devout and altruistic. The strange ceremonies which characterize many of the Orders and invest them with a peculiar interest for foreigners, dominate the religious thinking of their adherents, most of whom are from the uneducated classes. Many of the sheikhs are men of learning and of great influence in the community.

IV. Jewish Synagogues

1. General Description

a. Membership

All Jews in the community are considered as members of the synagogue.

b. Services

Some synagogues have prayers four or five times daily; others, every morning and evening, or only once a day; and some, not at all on week days. All hold Saturday services which are moderately well attended. The congregation is naturally much larger on feast days. For instance, in the large Synagogue Yambol, in Balat, there is an average of 130 at daily prayers, 160 to 200 on Saturdays, and 600 at festivals. In each synagogue there is a closet built into the wall on one side, covered with an embroidered curtain where the Pentateuch, written on fifty-two ancient-looking scrolls, is kept. One scroll in turn is read every week in the year. Other parts of the Jewish Scriptures are read only occasionally.

c. Music

There is no instrumental music, and only a few of the larger synagogues have choirs.

d. Description of the Synagogues

The oldest of these, at Oun Kapan near Phanar on the Golden Horn, was built in 1492, the year of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, when many came to settle in Constantinople. The synagogues are built of wood, stone, or brick, and vary much in size, from those with a capacity of 150 to the fine large buildings holding about 1000. The general plan is one square room with a bench all around the walls, a raised platform in the center containing the pulpit, covered with embroidered cloths, and a number of seats. There is usually another room, behind a lattice, for women. The synagogues have many windows, and usually not much decoration other than many small hanging lamps. A few of the largest buildings are lighted by electricity, and most of them are in good repair. They are not heated. A number have been destroyed by fire, one by earthquake, one by a falling city wall, and others by a dynamite explosion during the Great War. Some of these have been rebuilt, and on the ruins of one, in Balat, a fine school is being erected. Some of the synagogues are in Byzantine style; one of these, well built in brick near the Sublime Porte, has become a mosque.

e. Management

The Jewish community, like those of other faiths under Ottoman rule, was governed by a law called "Hahamhane-Nizamnamesi," established about seventy years ago. As this did not conform to the modern spirit, a new statute was drawn up after the Armistice in 1918, which will be discussed, and finally approved, by the Jewish Constituent Assembly, which held its first sitting May 1, 1921. According to this new project there is the Community of Constantinople, composed of its many parishes, to which all Jews without distinction belong. This is governed by the National Assembly and by the Central Communal Council.

The National Assembly is the representative body of all the Jews in Turkey, elected by universal suffrage for four years. Its duties are: first, to maintain the individual, political, and religious rights, and the autonomy of the Jews of the country; second, to decide questions brought up by the Central Communal Council, and to plan projects for the material and cultural uplift of the people; third, to decide the annual budget of the community; fourth, to determine the taxes; fifth, to form sections for the study, creation, and direction of different intellectual and social activities of the community; sixth, to elect, control, and discharge the Central Communal Council; and seventh, to elect the Grand Rabbi of Turkey. The President is elected by the Assembly. There are sections of the Assembly to discharge the following duties: the erection and care of synagogues, education, public charities, finance, statistics, community properties, and pious foundations.

The Central Communal Council is composed of eleven men elected from the members of the National Assembly, and acts as its executive committee to carry out its decisions.

The Grand Rabbi is elected for ten years, and may be reëlected. He is the official and religious head of the community, and presides over the Beth-Din (Religious Tribunal) and the corps of Rabbis.

Each district has its community committee, which administers the synagogue, school, and philanthropy by means of sub-committees. The synagogues are supported by donations and collections. A few, because of repairs, are in debt.

In large synagogues there are three ministers receiving monthly salaries of Ltq. 20 ($16), 10 ($8), and 5 ($4) respectively. Others receive only Ltq. 4 ($3.20) and 3 ($2.40). Besides this, ministers receive fees for circumcision, marriage, death, and for special prayers asked

for by a family on each anniversary of the death of one of its members. Each synagogue has from one to three beadles, or servants. They receive monthly salaries of from Ltq. 2 ($1.60) to 10 ($8), and also fees from the worshipers.

There are also oratories, small buildings for prayer only, with honorary ministers.

f. Community Activities

(*1*) *Care of the Poor:* This is done systematically by the committee in charge. Every district has its central committee, Bikur Balim, an institution which takes good care of the sick.

There are also community homes for Jewish refugees and the very poor. One, under Achrida Synagogue, Balat, has sleeping room for many in a long shed, and a soup kitchen feeding about 400 daily. (For public charities, orphanages, schools, etc., see other sections of this Survey).

(*2*) *Societies and Clubs:* The Jews have social, literary, and athletic clubs for their young people. These are organized in each community, but are not under the synagogues.

V. Young Men's Christian Association

Pera Branch

Membership: October, 1919, to March, 1921, Total, 1805.

Nationality	*No. Active Members*	*No. Sustaining Members*	*No. Student Members*
American	38	84	..
Armenian	319	28	38
English	90	18	1
French	19	15	1
Greek	517	32	93
Italian	24	2	1
Jewish	177	6	20
Russian	133	..	13
Turkish	59	2	33
Different[1]	42	..	..
Totals	1418	187	200

[1] In the term "different" are included Roumanians, Jugo-Slavs, Poles, Esthonians, Lithuanians, Belgians, Swiss, Danes, Persians, Caucasians, Georgians, Indians, etc.

A Typical Month
March 1-31, 1921

Type of Work	Event	Attendance	No.	Type of Work	Event	Attendance	No.
Recreation:	Cinema	16	480	*Day Schools:*	Arithmetic .	23	230
	Concerts ...	2	350		English	23	230
	Clubs (Chess, Camera, Stamp, Mandolin & Orchestra)	20	230	*Physical:*	Boxing Classes ..	18	302
					Fencing	24	210
					Gym	18	270
					Day School Classes ..	24	605
	Entertainment	1	150		Leaders Classes ..	8	46
	Billiards		..		Greek School Leaders ..	2	71
Educational Night School:	English Classes ..	137	1056		Russian Sportsmen's Club	2	43
	Other Languages ...	69	338		Boys' Clubs.	13	195
	Business Course ..	55	321		Evening Games ..	17	240
	Technical Subjects .	8	16		Exhibition .	1	150
					Douches ...	5	540
Extensions:	Fireside Talks	2	43	*Religious:*	Men's Meetings	4	165
	Lecture ...	.1	50		Bible Classes	16	172
	Drama	4	46	*Dormitories:*	Beds in Building .	8	216
Day School:	Algebra ...	23	128		Tubs Baths..	1	54
	Geometry ..	23	69				
	Business English ..	23	92	*Hotel:* (Kabatash House)	Beds	42	870
	Typing	23	276		Meals Served		1640
	Armenian ..	13	276				
	French	23	391				
	Geography .	23	138				
	Greek	23	253				
	Bookkeeping.	23	230				

Stamboul Branch

Building opened January 21, 1921.

New Members	*No.*	*Attendance*
Turkish	72	....
Greek	35	....
Armenian	32	....
American	9	....
Arab	5	....
Persian	1	....
Russian	2	....
French	1	....
Serb	1	....
Total	158	7130

	No.	*Attendance*
Educational:		
English Classes	150	650
French "	8	32
Typing "	11	11
Violin "	3	3
Boys' Club Studies	39	545
Lectures	7	280
Library	..	791
Total	218	2312
Physical:		
At the building:		
Gym Classes	50	778
Team Games	262	2709
Boxing Classes	14	176
Leaders' Clubs	33	318
Boys' Club Play	39	525
Health Lectures	8	256
General Exercise	..	86
Baths	12	74
Total	418	4922
Social:		
Receptions	1	275
Concerts	10	1029
Stunt Hours	7	198
Shows (Cinema)	17	1840
Total	35	3342
Moral and Religious:		
Bible Study	16	112
Meetings	4	230
Boys' Club Discussions	39	525
Temperance Committee	2	12
Personal Interviews	..	160
Staff Devotionals	25	128
Total	86	1167
General:		
Staff Conferences	25	130
Advisory Councils:		
Turkish	1	18
Armenian	1	18
Committee's Management	4	16
Women's Auxiliary	3	22
Total	34	204
Grand Total	949	19077

Boys' Work

There are 200,000 boys in Constantinople. In 1921 Boys' Clubs were organized in the following institutions:

Gedik-Pasha Mission School—2 Clubs.
Gedik-Pasha Armenian School.

Dar-ush-Shefaka School (Turkish).
Essayan Orphanage (Armenian).
Zographion Lycée (Greek).
Armenian National School of Beshiktash.

Physical Education given by the Director in different institutions.

	No.	*Enrollment*
Turkish Schools	11	2612
" Orphanages	6	2437
American Schools	1	102
Armenian "	3	790
" Orphanages	6	1709
Jewish Schools	1	160
" Clubs	6	2000
Albanian Schools	6	411
French "	4	1542
Total	44	11763

American Sailors' Club (Y. M. C. A.)

A Typical Month at the Club
Record of events, April 1-30, 1921

Type of Work	*Event*	*No.*
Religious:	Sunday Services	5
	" Church Parties	10
	Pieces of Literature Distributed	400
Educational:	Talks	5
	French Classes—crew	8
	" " —officers	32
	Sight Seeing Parties	12
Athletics:	Exhibitions	4
	Baseball Games	16
Social:	Movie Programs	16
	Sunday "At Homes"	5
	Dances	10
	Special Parties	18
	Concerts	12
	Programs (Various)	6
Restaurant:	Meals Served	12076
	Special Parties (Sailors)	6
	" " (Civilians)	4
	Lemonade Served Free (gallons)	42
	Coffee " " "	4
	Suppers " "	71
	Refreshments "	1050
Canteen:	Total Sales for the Month....Ltq.	3978.29 ($3182.63)

Type of Work	*Event*	*No.*
Hospitals:	Visits Made	16
Miscellaneous:	Baths Taken	391
	Boots Blacked	1719
	Pieces of Mail Handled	4127
	Packages Checked	786

Community Work of the Club

November 1, 1920, to April 30, 1921

Money contributed by sailors — Ltq. 6,500 ($5200)

Expended in aiding:

Navy Relief
Russian Refugees, Yedi Koulé
Hospital of Mrs. Mark L. Bristol and Y. W. C. A.

NOTE: Ninety-eight per cent of this money was distributed by committees of sailors elected by their shipmates. Committees of sailors visit the hospitals twice each month.

VI. YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Young Women's Christian Association was organized in June, 1919, with secretaries and funds sent by the National Board of the Y. W. C. A. of the United States. This was considered war work. A committee of women of different nationalities is in charge. The Association was started in one small house in Pera, but it has grown so steadily that at present there are two service centers, used for clubs, classes, and meetings; two hostels, and a personnel house for the secretaries.

Centers

The Pera service center is located at 10 Rue Chimal. This is a large house, opened March 20, 1921, with a gymnasium built on the roof which gives plenty of opportunity for gymnastics, games, and large gatherings.

The Stamboul service center, 1 Djighaloglou, was

opened April 24, 1921. It is a house of eight rooms in the Turkish quarter.

Hostels

The hostel at 132 Tarla Bashi, Pera, opened in February, 1921, accommodates 34 guests and a matron. Lodging and breakfast are given to young women under 35 years of age. The house is almost full.

The Russian Y. W. C. A., opened in March, 1921, at No. 10 Kouloglou, Pera, is a hostel accomodating 28 young Russian women and a matron. It also has a restaurant, and is a gathering place for many Russians. They have music and tea every Sunday afternoon.

The *Personnel House* at Taxim contains rooms for about twelve secretaries, also for the office of the National Y. W. C. A. for the Near East, and for occasional meetings.

Pera Center

The membership fee is Ltq. 1 (80c) with additional charges for educational and physical privileges.

There are 977 members made up partially as follows:

Nationality		*Religion*		*Occupation*		*Ages*	
American	17	Catholic	65	At Home	585	12-16	29
Armenian	320	Ch. of Eng.	17	Servant	6	16-20	390
Australian	1	Gregorian	238	Clerk & Saleswomen	107	20-30	342
Belgian	2	Israelite	126	Coiffeur & Manicure	2	30-	7
English	26	Moslem	16	Dr. & Nurse	11		
French	5	Orthodox	268	Dentist	1		
Greek	250	Protestant	100	Dressmaker	9		
Hebrew	123	Karayite	1	Governess	3		
Italian	14			Photographer	2		
Polish	3			Housekeeper			
Russian	41			Painter	2		
Czecho-Slovak	1			Secretary			
Turk	16			Stenographer	20		
Serbian	3			Student	27		
Swiss	3			Soc. Workers	6		
Syrian	4			Teacher	44		
Spanish	3			V. A. D. Telephone	11		
Bulgarian							
Egyptian							

Activities		
Educational:	English Advanced Classes	183
	" Beginning	34
	" Girl Guides	4
		221
	French	24
	Stenography (2 classes)	21
	Office course & typing	11
	Physical Education (2 classes)	30
	" " Girl Guides	8
	Sewing	9
	Art and Designing	5
	Total	329 Students

There are 13 clubs with an average membership each of 25. These clubs are studying literature, music, embroidery, travel, current events, cooking, and anything in which the girls are interested. They have also social activities, such as teas and picnics, and they do social service work by dressing dolls, making scrapbooks for orphanage children, and holding bazaars with the proceeds of which they give Christmas parties for orphans.

There are two Bible classes. Other activities are a weekly Sunday vesper service, the average attendance at which is 50. At these there is a speaker and music, and tea is served. Lectures are given on hygiene, and other subjects of general interest.

Stamboul Service Center

During the first month 43 members joined: 21 Turks, 11 Armenians, 8 Greeks, with 25 members in 6 classes to study English, French and dressmaking.

The Physical Director has taught normal classes, and also the children in 11 orphanages:

Turkish, 2, with 900 girls.
Armenian, 7 and 1 Armenian Catholic, with 940 girls.
Greek, 1, for trachoma cases, with 200, making
A grand total of 2040 girls.

On May 21, 1921, the Y. W. C. A. gave a pageant in Osman Bey Garden, Shishli, in which over 300 girls of all nationalities took part in dances and chorus singing. Several dances were by children from the orphanages, trained by the Y. W. C. A. Physical Director.

VII. Clubs and Societies

1. University Club

Address of President, Dr. E. B. Watson, Robert College.
Address of Secretary, Mr. W. E. Bristol, 40 Rue Cabristan, Pera.
Membership Conditions: Open to all men holding degrees from higher institutions of learning. Dues Ltq. 2, ($1.60) per year.

Activities:

a. Monthly luncheon and annual dinner, with appropriate addresses.
b. Promotion of:
Community concord.
Preservation of historical sites.
International public library.

2. Club de Constantinople

Address: Rue Cabristan, Pera.
Membership: A social club open to men in commercial, professional, diplomatic, military, and naval circles.
Activities: restaurant, correspondence, reading and game rooms, tennis.

3. Union Française

Address: Rue Cabristan, No. 149.
Address of the President, Mr. Steeg, Director of the Imperial Ottoman Bank.

Membership: Open to members of the French colony, Constantinople.

Activities: restaurant, library, correspondence rooms; also headquarters of the French Chamber of Commerce and the Union Nationale des Combattants.

VIII. Masonic Orders

There are several national Masonic Orders in Constantinople, such as the British, French, Armenian, Greek and Turkish Lodges. The Americans have a Masonic Club, which was started in 1920.

V

SOME PHASES OF INDUSTRIAL LIFE

LAURENCE S. MOORE

OUTLINE

I. General Introduction

II. Particular Phases of Industrial Life
   1. Factories
   2. Bakeries
   3. Laundries
   4. Stores

III. Children in Industry
   1. Shoe Trade
   2. Garment Trade
   3. Restaurants and Hotels
   4. Small Factories
   5. Cigarette and Tobacco Factory
   6. Stores and Shops
   7. Domestic Service
   8. Street Trades

The title, "Industrial Life in Constantinople," is not to be taken in the specific sense of industry as distinct from other fields of business activity; conditions of labor in various fields have been investigated, although this survey does not claim to be an exhaustive study.

I. General Introduction

In his volume entitled "Constantinople," Professor Alexander Van Millingen declares: "There is no place in the wide world more eminently fitted by natural advantages to be the throne of a great dominion than the promontory which guards the southern end of the Bosphorus. . . . Its magnificent harbor was fitly named the Golden Horn, for it could be the richest emporium of the world's wealth."

Besides this political importance due to its location, Constantinople's importance as a commercial center has been recognized ever since the old city of Byzantium, before the time of Christ, exacted toll of the ships that passed through the Bosphorus between the Ægean and Black Seas. It has long been a transit port for goods from the north and east intended for the west, and vice versa. It is maintaining that position to-day, although knowing ones have prophesied its decay, as lands about the Black Sea develop markets and accommodating ports that will bring direct steamship connection with the West. But Constantinople will not remain idle, as if in anticipation of such an eventuality, and there is even reason to believe that the city, which has up to the present seriously occupied herself only with the very tip of this virgin land, will strengthen her primacy by more adequate attention to her commercial facilities and the industrial possibilities of her immediate hinterland, including

land transportation. Constantinople has the elements of a successful world port; she will furnish the complements which others in this region lack. Industries, a multitude of which, though small, made the city a storehouse for earlier empires, will also as cause and effect share in the development, as the advantages of the situation are more thoroughly exploited. The mineral and agricultural resources of the northern sections of Asia Minor will, for a long time to come, be more closely bound to Constantinople than to any other port.

Constantinople has three main divisions, Stamboul—on the peninsula washed by the waters of the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora—Galata and Pera, on the European side of the Bosphorus, and Scutari on the Asian side, with suburban villages along the Bosphorus and along the street-car and railway lines, running out respectively from Pera and Stamboul and Scutari. The towns of the islands are also considered within the city precincts. The larger factories lie on the outskirts of the city. The Golden Horn, both on the Stamboul and the Galata side, handles the commerce; depots are gradually creeping up the Bosphorus.

The shipping agencies and banks, for the most part, are centered in Galata; the wholesale houses, in Stamboul. Certain of the Galata houses have branch banks in Stamboul. The bazaars occupy the first slope of Stamboul up from the outer bridge across the Golden Horn. Hand trades are generally grouped and are located for the most part in Stamboul, and in the section of Galata between the outer and inner bridges which span the Golden Horn. Small shops are usually clustered in the various defined quarters of Constantinople, though they are also found promiscuously scattered over the city.

Most of the streets in Constantinople are narrow. There is one main street from Galata winding up the hill to Pera,

and passing through that quarter, which must accommodate a street-car line and vehicle traffic, besides the sidewalks, actually far too inadequate for the throngs of pedestrians. Another artery even narrower runs the length of Galata. following the shore line. Another main street runs from the end of the outer Golden Horn bridge up to and along the ridge of Stamboul; on the ridge it becomes the most commodious street in the city. The street-car system follows these three main streets with branches towards the outskirts. Including the street-car line that runs up the Bosphorus six miles to the suburb Bebek, the lines measure in all about seventeen miles.

To the uninitiated, Constantinople addresses spell confusion; they may bear the name of the street, or in lieu of this, so often missing, especially in Stamboul, an address may simply refer to the district, or to a *Han;* the latter corresponds to the American business term "building," as "Singer Building," etc. The complexity of streets and business blocks would worry to despair any postal service; for this reason—as well as for others—the local Turkish postal service is less used by business firms than messenger service.

The *Hans* and other business houses and apartment houses in Galata and Pera, as also in Stamboul, are of stone or brick. These buildings average two or three stories; some are taller; and recently a few six and seven story blocks have been erected. An inquiry was recently made of an American society, concerning a contracting firm that would undertake the erection of a fifty story building. The customer wanted a building "like in America!" for an apartment house. The estimate was finally cut down to six stories.

Dwelling houses in Stamboul for the greater part were, until recent years, of wood. Since 1908 devastating fires have razed about 25,000 structures in the city, and it is re-

ported that no wood constructions will be allowed on the burned areas. It is also reported that the municipality intends more scientific modifications in the street plans of these areas. A few frail two story brick structures have already been erected in these seared spots.

Among the native business firms overhead expense is cut down to the minimum, and the capital and activity of a firm can in nowise be judged from the office space and accommodations. A telephone is the first sign of modernity. Electric lighting is the second step, progressing more slowly, especially in the small shops of Stamboul, where sun time still largely regulates hours of work. There are not more than a dozen elevators in the entire city including the hotels, and the running of these is qualified. Heating is primitive; only a few of the larger *hans* and hotels are installing central heating plants. The brazier, partly displaced by the small stove about the time of the Crimean War, is still largely used. Ventilation is sacrificed to the conservation of heat in the cool seasons.

Needless to say, fire escapes are almost universally lacking. The large buildings, stone structures, are seldom the origin of fires. The wooden structures are small and there is seldom loss of life in a fire, though large districts of the city are destroyed in one sweep of flame, because fire fighting provisions are so largely lacking. The irregular firemen with their diminutive hand pumps are still the vanguard in the fire-fighting to the more deliberate regulars with their modern equipment. Since the war, the powerful apparatus of the allied armies has had telling effect in diminishing fire disasters.

The great influence of tradition in the Orient is patent. *Adet,* custom, has strongly resisted foreign influence. People and government alike are permeated with the conservative spirit, though for different reasons.

The system of government in Turkey until 1908 was an

absolute monarchy; the fiat of the ruler often reinforced tradition, rarely set it aside; there have been only spasmodic and limited periods of liberalness and development. The business world felt the despotic control. The non-Moslem subject races especially have been affected by this, and large enterprises have in general not developed normally through fear of extra exactions; for the same reason the possessing of riches has been made as unostentatious as possible among these peoples, with the resultant lack of business accommodations and facilities at the present time.

Foreign influence has played an important rôle in the development of the business life in Turkey. The Capitulations, a political modification of Byzantine economic policy, which have been the special protection of foreigners in Turkey, have assured larger rewards to foreign than to other capital, with the result that the most considerable firms in Turkey to-day, with certain exceptions, are foreign firms. It is even stated that Russian refugee street vendors have claimed the tax exemption accorded in an eighteenth century Russian commercial treaty with the Sublime Porte.

The three factors enumerated above, custom, government, and foreign influence in business life, are not as such peculiar to Turkey, but they have a peculiar relation here in most illogically reinforcing or opposing each other in business enterprises. It is hardly necessary to state that, as capital has been affected, there has been a reaction on the condition of employees of capital.

Constantinople is a cosmopolitan city. While on a small scale, in business life, racial distinctions are becoming effaced in the labor organizations that are being formed, and the relation of employer with employee is largely controlled by the dollar and cent reckoning of service, a lingering sense of paternalism, especially in the smaller shops, is at times evident. This is seen either in greater financial consideration of employee, or in inadequate compensation for service.

Baksheesh, tips, play such a large part in the reward of unskilled labor in Constantinople—as elsewhere in the Orient—that it loses here its Western signification of "gratuities," and becomes in many fields almost synonymous with "pay."

Previous to 1908, under Sultan Abdul Hamid II especially, inventions and industrial improvements were looked on with suspicion by the Government. There was no electric lighting system, save for a few suburban steamers recently imported and for the Sultan's palace and the Khedival palace on the Bosphorus. There was no telephone system, no local telegraph save for messages in Turkish, and no letter collections. Local mail service was not used by foreigners; business communications were carried on by messengers, and this method still largely prevails in the city. There were no electric street cars, though even before the underground service in New York there was a tunnel funicular between Galata and Pera. There were no automobiles in the city. The introduction of machinery was generally surreptitiously effected. Small shops and hand trades predominated. Since Turkey has been either at war or threatened with war every year since the revolution in 1908, these last two characteristics persist in the business life of the city to-day. The foreign commercial life has progressed more rapidly, yet still most of the actual labor of caring for cargo is performed by hand. Cranes for loading and unloading are few, and quay space and commodious depots are not adequate in normal times.

II. Particular Phases of Industrial Life

As in the other fields of investigation of the Survey, the industrial field is hampered by two things: the lack of statistics, and the suspicion of investigation, multiplied many fold since it probes into the vitals of the art of sustenance,

bound up both with racial and with business jealousies. The following statement made by a certain business man to one of the investigators evidences the almost universal feeling of firms with regard to the Survey: "I am revealing to you business secrets which I have acquired through thirty years of experience, and I have told you more than I have revealed to the most exacting military investigator during that period."

A systematic official census of the city has never been taken of recent years, partly because the Government believed that such data might serve contrary purposes, and partly because of the burden which such a system would entail. A directory was once published. In 1921 a hasty and sadly incomplete revision was made of the earlier edition. A rival directory was promised in the summer of 1920, but has failed to appear to date. The telephone directory is the usual resort of the business world.

1. Factories

Constantinople is still a city of small trades rather than large industries; there are very few establishments that employ large bodies of workmen or produce in large quantities.

There are within the city proper only three factories that employ in permanent work over 100 workmen. There are seven good-sized tanneries, five of which during the spring season have been employing between 50 and 100 men, and occasionally certain of them have had more than that number of employees. The factories mentioned above have been visited, and the tanneries, and in addition three other small factories employing between 10 and 25 men each. A cotton yarn factory closed down at Easter because unable to meet competition; about 250 employees had been working there during the winter.

The total number of employees in the factories visited was 2850; of this number 1050 were men, and the remainder women and children; children numbered hardly 100, though exact figures concerning them could not be obtained, or verification made of ages given.

a. Hours of Work

In all the factories at least eight hours of work exclusive of the lunch period of one hour are required; the work day often runs to nine or ten hours, and in two of the larger factories extra hours are frequent. The work period in the factories begins earlier than in the stores, from 6:30 to 7:30 A.M., and ends earlier. This fact allows for extra overtime hours. The factories are divided between six and six and a half work-day weeks.

There are no vacation periods save certain public holidays; some allowance is made for national holidays to those of the respective nationalities. Complaint has been made against the younger women that they are inclined to multiply fête days in celebration of their own names' days and those of their friends; such vacations, however, are taken at financial cost, and often at the price of temporary suspension from the payroll.

b. Wages

In the greater number of factories beginners' salaries for the men are not above LT.25 ($20) in the unskilled occupations. The average wage of the largest group ranges from LT.30 to LT. 50 ($24–$40); a certain percentage goes beyond to LT. 60 ($48). Skilled workmen or heads of certain departments receive as high as LT.100 ($80) or LT.150 ($120) and a very few reach a higher figure.

Women and children are employed on the less important

and less skilled labor, and their wages average from three-fifths to three-fourths that of the men. Minimum wage runs as low as LT.10 ($8) per month.

As the tanneries especially are not always running at full capacity, and as the employees, save for a very few, are paid by the day, the employees inevitably suffer from cessation of work. In one factory it was stated that though there was work sufficient for only half time, the employees were paid by the month, but the help was largely skilled labor and not so easily procurable on demand.

It was stated in one factory that a bonus of five months' salary had been paid in addition, owing to the high cost of living and the depreciation of the Turkish lira. Another factory pays an additional month's salary as an annual gift. One factory pays time and one-half for extra time, and another factory pays double for extra time.

c. Working Conditions

The factory buildings are not high. There are no fire escapes, but some of the factories are provided with fire extinguishers. In general ventilation and cleanliness are passable, and there is no excessive crowding save in one department of one of the factories. There is little provision for heat. Damp floors are one of the chief dangers to health noted in certain factories.

The condition at the tanneries is worse than at the other factories; one reason for this is the nature of the work in which damp skins are handled much of the time, and also because business conditions have not permitted repair of old buildings.

In two factories there was noted the presence of dust particles rising from material being worked, which might occasion injury to one's health. In three factories some unguarded dangerous machinery is in use.

d. Welfare Provisions

In only one factory has provision been made for a canteen for employees; in the others the employees eat their lunches with such accommodations as the factory workrooms afford.

Doctors visit three of the institutions at least twice a week and employees have medical attention then free of charge. One factory undertakes to care for its employees in a hospital for a certain season in case of illness. In certain of the others there is no deduction from wage for illness of two or three days' duration.

In one of the factories in case of accident the employee is taken care of at the factory's expense, and wages are continued on the basis of half daily average. The factories provide no insurance fund.

2. Bakeries

Trade figures give the number of bakeries in Constantinople as 350, employing more than 3500 men. Home baking is not practiced in towns in the Orient. Bread is either bought at the bakery, or dough prepared at home is brought to the public oven for baking, as are often other kinds of food.

The bakeries of Constantinople consume between 5000 and 6000 sixty-three and one-half kilo sacks (between 698,500 pounds and 838,200 pounds) of flour per day. Most of the bakeries produce both first and second quality bread. In the spring of 1921, little wheat was available for the city flour mills, but imported American flour was so cheap, especially from the large Army stock at Alexandria, that almost one-half the flour consumed was of first quality, generally, however, mixed in certain proportions with an inferior grade for ordinary trade. The municipal authorities designate the shops that may prepare the extra fine breads, which number at times runs very low, between 12 and 16. Price of first quality bread was fixed at 12½

piasters ($.10) per oke (2.8 pounds) in early May, a little more than 3 cents per pound.

While nations of the West lived for long months after the Armistice on inferior and brown bread, white bread from imported flour was available at a fair price everywhere in Constantinople, though little got beyond the city into the hinterland. Bread is the real staff of life in the Orient. The Oriental child is trained to be a bread consumer, and bread is an accompaniment of every course at meals, or the sole course. It is not the hardship to the Oriental soldier that it is to the Occidental, when ration is limited to the loaf—and quartermasters' duties are less complicated.

For the purpose of the Survey, 16 bakeries were visited, 7 in Kadikeuy, 2 in Stamboul, 3 in Galata, and 4 in Pera. Variations were so slight both as to number of hours, wages, and sanitary conditions even in the various sections, that it is fairly safe to generalize on the conditions that exist in the bakeries.

a. Plan of Shop

In general, the plan of the shop and of the work is as follows: At the front of the shop on the ground floor are the shelves and platform on which the stock of bread is kept and displayed. Behind this part of the shop is the oven. The kneading room is above or adjacent to the bake-room. The sleeping room, if separate, is conveniently near.

The "baker" is the worker who puts the dough in the oven, and removes the bread therefrom. The "mixer" and his "assistant" care for the kneading. "Helpers" have odd duties connected with the baking, or assist at the sale of the bread.

b. Hours of Work

In the bakeries investigated it was stated that the work is in shifts of six or seven hours each; the worker on a

night shift works the following day on a day shift. In certain bakeries there are alternate shifts in the twenty-four hour period; or a night shift continued for one week may be changed the following week for a day shift.

There is no full twenty-four hour rest period, though a few additional hours of rest are permitted on Sunday. The longest period of leave granted in any of the bakeries investigated is from 11:30 A.M. on Sunday to 9:00 P.M. Days off are without pay, whether for sickness or other cause.

c. Wages

The pay of bakers ranges from 10 to 14 Turkish liras or pounds ($8–$11.20) per week, the general average being 12 liras ($9.60) though two bakeries reported the fantastic figures of 30 liras ($24) per week to the head man. The mixers receive 10 to 12 liras ($8–$9.60), averaging in most cases about 2 liras ($1.60) below the bakers; in two cases the pay was reported to be 15 liras ($12) per week. The mixers' assistants receive on the average a lira ($.80) a day, while 2 liras ($1.60) less per week are paid to the general help about the shop. Weekly pay falls in one case as low as 3½ liras ($2.80).

In addition to pay in most of the shops between 2 kilos and 2 okes (4⅖ and 5⅗ pounds) of bread per day is given to the workers; it was stated that one of the two loaves is sold and the other eaten. In two of the shops the workers are allowed to eat as much bread as they wish in the shop, but could carry none away.

d. Sanitary Conditions

In only one shop investigated have special provisions been made for sleeping quarters. These are very primitive, while in the other shops bunks or cots have been built in a loft or adjacent room. Old sacking or the sacks of flour

themselves sometimes afford a bed. In two bakeries there were sheets on the bunks, but the bedding in all the shops was very soiled because the men in general seldom change their day dress for the night. There is little light in the sleeping room and no ventilation; outside air would be detrimental to the bread-making processes.

Toilets are most primitive and unsanitary and offensively near the bakerooms.

On the platform where the bread is stored previous to sale, the workers are not supposed to walk save in foot-wear other than that which they wear on the street; it was stated that this rule is not kept, and in one bakery a man was seen walking in muddy shoes on the platform. As the bread is often exposed for sale in rooms wide open on narrow streets, and as the loaves are not wrapped up at the shop for the customer, the bread takes a considerable accumulation of dust and dirt before it reaches the home of the purchaser.

e. Social Conditions

Several proprietors spoke of the immorality and drunkenness common among workers in the bakeries. One stated that he did not know whether this should be ascribed to the fact that the work is so unattractive that it engages only the lower class, or because of the abnormal conditions under which the work is done—night work, poor sleeping quarters, and heavy work, especially for the mixers. These conditions and the continual breathing in of flour dust injure a man's health, and he cannot stand it for more than fifteen years at the longest.

As in other trades, baking is a tradition in the family, and up to the time of the Great War the sons followed pretty closely the profession of the father. For a time most of the bakeries in Constantinople were run by Epirot Greeks, and the family tradition had a strong hold. Cer-

tain modern factors have upset this system of heritage, and in the bakeries investigated, Greeks, Turks, and Armenians were found, and in several cases two of the nationalities together.

There has been agitation for a bakers' "union," to settle terms for the workers with the patrons' organization already formed. While nothing as yet has been definitely formulated about sanitary conditions under which the workers labor, demand has been made for reduction of work for each man, so that one mixer may not be obliged to knead more than two sacks of flour per day.

Bread making in Constantinople is done by hand. The quality of bread at the present time is unusually good. Just recently a certain firm has planned to secure a complete outfit of bread-making machinery from mixer to wrapper; this would certainly revolutionize the bread-making industry here.

3. Laundries

Most of the laundry work in Constantinople is done in private homes. Cuffs and collars and stiff-bosomed shirts are generally sent out—after they have been washed—to be starched and ironed. Small ironing shops, therefore, out-number the establishments where both ironing and washing are done, but the proprietor of an ironing shop is generally able to arrange for garments to be washed also, and very often he combines the clothes-pressing business with his trade. Six of the 19 laundries visited in this investigation are ironing shops; of the other 13, only 6 care for the washing in the shop, and in the other 7 it is the custom to have the washing done in the home of the patron or sent out to a regular washing woman. As a consequence the large majority of laundries are "mere holes," as one worker expressed it; large accommodations are not needed. Only 34 persons were found to be working in the 19 native

laundries visited; 16 were working in another single shop under foreign management. In 4 of these shops the proprietor did all the work himself.

a. Hours of Work

In all parts of the city laundry workers and patrons complained of the lack of work, due, they said, to the "business crisis" prevailing. One patron said that whereas there had been 8 laundries in his vicinity in Beshiktash the previous year, there remained but 3. Working hours are in general controlled by the amount of work to be done, and statistics of hours can be stated only approximately. In the majority of cases the work day begins at 8 o'clock, but in two cases at 7 A.M.; it continues in general until 6, in two instances until 7, and in two cases until 9 P.M. The minimum working time stated is 8½ hours, though 10 is the average, exclusive of one-half to one hour's time for lunch, and in two cases 13 work hours are called the work day.

b. Wages

In 9 of the 14 shops of which the wages were learned, workers are employed regularly on a time basis and paid by the week or the month. But the same number of employees, 16, in the five remaining shops are paid by the piece or are not hired regularly.

Of 12 workers one alone receives 12 Turkish liras ($9.60) per week, and only two others above 7 Turkish liras ($5.60) per week of six days. A six-day week is the practice in all the shops visited, and appears to be the universal practice in the city in laundries.

The price paid to the women in Pera and Galata who take home washing was given by several laundry patrons as 1 lira ($.80) a day. In Stamboul it is paid for by the piece, and it was stated that the average earnings of these

washing women is from 4 to 6 liras ($3.20 to $4.80) per week.

Irregularity of wage is very marked, and the position of the laundry workers is precarious on account of the uncertainty of the demand. The patron prefers to set a low minimum wage, with prospects of advance in case work warrants this, or else to pay according to the piece, a system which also protects him.

c. Working Conditions

All save two of the shops investigated are box-like structures, with accommodations not more than sufficient for the utensils of the trade and furniture. Ventilation is a summer luxury, when the front door or window of the shop may be left open. Charcoal in small stove or brazier is the usual heating system.

The method of washing common to Constantinople is the use of a wooden tub with a sloping side, against which the clothes are held while being scrubbed with a stiff brush, or they are simply rubbed between the hands. To whiten the clothes they are put into a basket, a cloth is placed above them, wood ashes placed on the cloth, and hot water poured over the ashes and the clothes. Water is very sparingly used as these shops are not provided with running water, and the water must be carried from some city faucet, at times inconveniently distant.

The washing women are often found in little groups in the poorest districts in most miserable hovels, which serve rather as screens for a semblance of privacy than as shelter. Standard Oil gasoline tins are a great boon to such construction.

While this investigation is not made in the interest of those who patronize laundries, or to back up their complaints about injured linen, it may be said that it is almost

a miracle that there is any survival of linen, when the primitiveness and the lack of facilities in the working conditions are considered, together with the lack of water for washing that forces the use of much lye stuffs. The sweat-shop system is general in this field, even though the establishments are small. The steam laundry will doubtless soon be introduced, but it may not mean a great change in the system of employment, and even its effect on the general method of laundering will be only gradual.

There is no union of laundry workers nor of laundry proprietors. No large number of proprietors have ever been able to agree on a scale of prices, either for their laundered work or for wages to their employees.

4. Stores

In this field 13 large stores in Pera and Galata were visited and 6 in Stamboul, including the most prominent department stores in the city. Fourteen small shops were visited. In the first category the smallest number of employees in any one shop is 10; the largest, 250 in a store in Stamboul; the next highest number is 140 in a store in Pera.

In Stamboul only one of the stores visited employs clerks of all nationalities; the others employ Turkish help exclusively. In Pera and Galata stores, various nationalities are employed by the same firm; the Greeks predominate among the employees.

EMPLOYEES IN LARGE STORES

Stores	*Men*	*Women*	*Children under 15*	*Total*
PERA AND GALATA				
13	427	270	14	711
STAMBOUL				
6	358	80	3	441

HOURS OF WORK IN LARGE STORES

PERA AND GALATA

Store	*Length of day exclusive of lunch period*	*Lunch period*
1	9¼	1½
2	9	1½
3	9½	1
4	9	1
5	9	1½
6	8½	1½
7	10	(At least 1 hr., not regular)
8	9	1
9	9½	1½
10	8	1½
11	7½	1½
12	8½	1½
13	7½	1½
	STAMBOUL	
14	8½	No regular time
15	8	No regular time
16	8	No regular time
17	7¼	½ hour
18	8	No regular time
19	8½	No regular time

Wages Per Month

NUMBER OF STORE EMPLOYEES

No.	*Men*	*Women*
1	60	80
2	15	80
3	7	1
4	10	8
5	19	13
6	95	25
7	70	10
8	60	20
9	30	6
10	7	2
11	10	4
12	32	18
13	12	3
14	6	3
15	18	5
16	60	40
17	24	6
18	25	1
19	225	25

BEGINNING WAGE

No.	Men		Women	
	a	b	a	b
1	10 ($8)	None	10 ($8)	None
2	....	....	15 ($12)	None
3	30 ($24)	....	....	....
4	30 ($24)	None	30 ($24)	None
5	10 ($8)	None	10 ($8)	Yes
6	18 ($14.40)	27 ($21.60)	12 ($9.60)	20 ($16)
7	30 ($24)	None	25 ($20)	None
8	20 ($16)	5%	20 ($16)	5%
9	20 ($16)	None	20 ($16)	None
10	20 ($16)	None	20 ($16)	None
11	30 ($24)	None	20 ($16)	None
12	10 ($8) to 40 ($32)	....	10 ($8)	35 ($28)
13	16 ($12.80)	50 ($40)	20 ($16)	None
14	15 ($12) to 30 ($24)	None	10 ($8) to 15 ($12)	None
15	15 ($12)	None	14 ($11.20)	None
16	10 ($8)	None	10 ($8)	None
17	15 ($12) to 20 ($16)	None	15 ($12)	None
18	15 ($12)	None	15 ($12)	None
19	25 ($20)	30 ($24)	25 ($20)	Yes

a—Salary without commissions.
b—Salary with commissions.

LARGEST GROUP

No.	Men		Women	
	a	b	a	b
1	30 ($24)	50 ($40)	25 ($20)	None
2	....	....	....	None
3	....	70 ($56)	....	....
4	65 ($52)	85 ($68)	35 ($28)	None
5	15 ($12)	Yes	15 ($12)	Yes
6	55 ($44)	80 ($64)-90 ($72)	18 ($14.40)	27 ($21.60)
7	50 ($40)	Yes	45 ($36)	Yes
8	50 ($40)	10%	50 ($40)	10%
9	42 ($33.60)	70 ($56)	30 ($24)	None
10	30 ($24)	None	20 ($16)	None
11	50 ($40) to 55 ($44)	Yes	45 ($36)	Yes
12	35 ($28) to 40 ($32)	90 ($72)-110 ($88)	15 ($12)	70 ($56) to 80 ($64)
13	35 ($28)	70 ($56)	....	....
14	....	....	22 ($17.60)	None
15	....	....	14 ($11.20)-30 ($24)	None
16	30 ($24)	None	15 ($12)	None
17	....	....	25 ($20)	None
18	40 ($32)	....	....	....
19	50 ($40)	75 ($60)	35 ($28)	Yes

MAXIMUM WAGE

No.	Men		Women	
	a	b	a	b
1	80 ($64)	100 ($80)	40 ($32)	60 ($48)
2	....	....	60 ($48)	None
3	....	82 ($65.60)	28 ($22.40)	None
4	100 ($80)	None	50 ($40)	None
5	70 ($56)	Yes	30 ($24)	Yes
6	100 ($80)	180 ($144)	20 ($16)	35 ($28)
7	100 ($80)	Yes	80 ($64)	Yes
8	100 ($80)	200 ($160)	60 ($48)	20%
9	90 ($72)	130 ($104)	35 ($28)	None
10	70 ($56)	None	20 ($16)	None
11	80 ($64)	95 ($76)	40 ($32) to 55 ($44)	70 ($56)
12	60 ($48)	250 ($200)	25 ($20)	150 ($120)
13	50 ($40)	95 ($76)	30 ($24)	40 ($32)
14	100 ($80)	None	25 ($20) to 30 ($24)	None
15	100 ($80)	None	30 ($24)	None
16	50 ($40) to 60 ($48)	None	30 ($24)	None
17	40 ($32)	None	30 ($24)	None
18	70 ($56)	None	30 ($24)	None
19	100 ($80)	200 ($160)	....	....

SMALL STORES

EMPLOYEES

No.	Men	Women
1	3	2
2	..	4
3	7	3
4	..	3
5	..	7
6	..	3
7	..	2
8	..	3
9	..	12-15
10	..	4
11	3	1
12	3	1
13	4	1
14	1	4

WAGES

No.	Men		Women	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
1	20 ($16)	60 ($48)	16 ($12.80)	18 ($14.40)
2	32 ($25.60)	96 ($76.80)	16 ($12.80)	32 ($25.60)
3	30 ($24)	60 ($48)	20 ($16)	40 ($32)
4	....	....	16 ($12.80)	32 ($25.60)
5	....	....	12 ($9.60)	36 ($28.80)
6	....	....	12 ($9.60)	16 ($12.80)

No.	WAGES			
	Men		*Women*	
	Minimum	*Maximum*	*Minimum*	*Maximum*
7	....	....	8 ($6.40)	12 ($9.60)
8	....	....	8 ($6.40)	16 ($12.80)
9	15 ($12)	45 ($36)	15 ($12)	20 ($16)
10	....	....	10 ($8)	20 ($16)
11	50 ($40)			25 ($20) to 30 ($24)
12	30 ($24)	50 ($40)		25 ($20) to 30 ($24)
13	20 ($16)	45 ($36) to 50 ($40)	20 ($16)	
14	....	40 ($32)		40 ($32) to 50 ($40)

In the department stores the beginning wage for men and women does not differ appreciably, the wage of the average group of men and women differs from 5 to 15 per cent and even more in favor of the men. The maximum wage runs distinctly and uniformly in favor of the men by at least 20 per cent, and men are favored in the chief positions, where the maximum pay is to their advantage even beyond this per cent.

In the small stores the beginning wage of men averages about the same as beginning wage in the large stores, from 20 to 30 Turkish liras ($16 to $24); but the maximum wage rarely advances beyond 60 liras ($48).

The minimum wage for women averages from half to two thirds the wage paid to beginners in the large stores, and falls rather at 16 liras ($12.80) and under, than above that amount. The maximum wage paid to women in these stores also averages lower, and compares favorably only with the lowest maximum wage paid to women in certain of the large stores, that is, from 25 to 30 liras ($20 to $24), and rarely reaching 40 liras ($32). In 5 stores women who are able to use the typewriter secure from 30 to 60 liras ($24 to $48) per month.

An excuse for the lower pay of women, as stated by several of the proprietors, was that the women for the most part live at their homes, and therefore are willing to receive less than men.

In several cases it was stated that the women employees

do not have as a rule the professional attitude towards their work, considering their occupation as merely temporary until they marry. This is still considered almost universally in the Orient as woman's true destiny. They do not show initiative or sales ability comparable with that of the men, although in certain departments, as, for instance, in women's and children's departments, they are better adapted. In the Turkish stores the proprietors spoke more highly of the service of the women; women were said to be more conscientious and honest than men, and almost their equal in ability, although their experience in the business world had been so short.

Jewish women entered stores as employees before women of other nationalities. There was long a prejudice among Greek women against such work, in which they finally were forced to engage. Turkish women entered last, when men were called away for army service during the recent war. It was about this time also that the employment of women as cashiers and bookkeepers spread, and this is now a very common custom in the stores. Men will not easily regain these positions lost, especially as the services of women may be procured at a lower wage.

Welfare Provisions

In only one store of those investigated is there a special rest-room for women employees; in two others the women employees are given the privilege of eating their lunch in a side room, not reserved for them at other periods.

In one of the large stores there is a system of proportionate profit sharing; a percentage of the sales in each department is divided among the employees of respective departments according to shares, the number of shares held being determined by the selling capacity of the employee. In the same store faithful employees have been paid a stipend after retirement.

In certain stores the custom is followed of a special gift on New Year's Day, of a certain per cent of the salary, rarely amounting to an extra month's wage. In one store five per cent of the net profits is divided among the employees at the end of the year.

In two of the larger stores there is a *Caisse de Prévoyance* maintained by the employees for mutual benefit. During a short illness some of the larger stores continue the pay of the employees. In thirteen of the large stores a percentage of the employees belong to the *Union des Employées Grecs.*

III. Children in Industry

The study of children in industry in Constantinople presents unusual difficulties. To discover all the children in factories in a city where one factory is distributed in one-room sections from Taxim to Galata, is an arduous, not to say, impossible task. In the shoe-trade, for instance, one shop has different cutting, stitching, and finishing rooms. The cutting room is in Shishli and the finishing room in Galata, nearly a mile apart.

1. Shoe Trade

Six persons well-informed regarding the shoe trade stated that there are 2500 boys under the age of fifteen employed in this industry, but we were not able to verify this figure.

We here give an account of some of the more interesting findings resulting from our investigation, but we do not claim to have the material for a complete report. Practically all of the shoe shops are on the top floors of old, rickety buildings, for the most part unsafe and unsanitary. The light, as a rule, is very fair, and the room itself reasonably clean. The toilet conditions are very bad; in fact in many places there are no usable toilets. The average age of the children working is eleven; many of them are as

young as seven and only a few are over thirteen. They work from 8:30 in the morning to 6:00 at night, and in the winter occasionally as late as 8:30. The meals are eaten at the bench and consist of dry bread, with the addition in some few cases of cheese or ripe olives. There is no period of relaxation or rest. Near one factory there is a garden where the boys, if not too tired, run about for a few minutes between assignments of work. They appear, as a rule, pale, thin, and painfully industrious. It may be assumed that they have some opportunity for play on Sundays and Mondays when the factories are closed.

The visitor's impression was that the children receive kind treatment, that few blows are administered, and that the masters who have charge of the children are friendly and patient.

The wages average about 250 piasters a week. Some of the little children are paid as low as 50 piasters ($.40).

Let us imagine for a few moments that we are visiting one of the good factories in the city. We climb five flights of stairs already broken by the footsteps of generations gone by, stairs without railings of any kind. There is no light in the hallways; yet ten boys, the youngest seven and the oldest eleven, make their way over these stairs in the early hours of the morning and after dark at night. To enter the work-room, one passes through a slanting doorway into what would be called in the New England vernacular, "a square attic." This is lighted by three half-sized windows. A long bench is provided for each child. Seated at a table is a master, a kindly man of thirty-five. Beside him works his son of seven. The little chap is making bows for ladies' slippers. The rest of the children are doing small tasks with leather, for example, lining the tongues of shoes and snapping holes into boots. It is four o'clock on a dark day; the one oil lamp burns near the master and four candles furnish the other light. Each

child sits bent over his work, stops to look for a moment at the extremely inquisitive visitor, and then returns to his task. Beside each boy is a paper of bread, the remains of his lunch. All the children are thin and white, but not as thin as might be expected. They are listless. The small boy with the bows pricks his finger and stops a moment to thrust the offended member into his mouth. His hands are black, unwashed, and cold. He is thinly dressed. All the children's faces speak of a long period of undernourishment; they are old for their years and joyless.

Soon the children pick up their packages and go home. Let us follow one friendly little fellow. He and his live in one room in a sunny basement. He is one of a family of six, consisting of mother, father, two little brothers, and the queen of the family, a darling baby girl. The father was wounded in the war and is unfit for heavy work, so he sells tape and ribbon on Galata Bridge. The family income depends upon the father, who earns 150 piasters ($1.20) a day, and upon this little son of eleven. They are Greeks; the boy has been to school one year, is interesting and ambitious. They cook over a *mangal* (charcoal stove) soup and beans or fish. Sweets are recklessly purchased occasionally by the small boy. There is no illness here at the present time, but what would happen to this litttle family if illness visited them? We wonder how they get along when the boy is out of work, for in the shoe trade seven months of the year there is little or no work. In reply to our inquiry the mother answered simply, "We eat less, madam." The sight of the boy in the doorway, bidding us "good-by" is unforgettable. In his arms he holds his sister and his look of admiration has quite obliterated the lines of weariness.

2. Garment Trade

In the garment trade about 800 boys and girls are employed, roughly speaking, 600 boys and 200 girls. Work-

ing conditions on the whole we found better than in the shoe trade. The pay is 2 to 5 liras ($1.60 to $4) per week for a ten-hour day. They have one hour at noon for lunch and in the better shops there is a dining room. Seventy per cent of the children can read. There is more sun, light, and air in the shops and adequate artificial light. The garment trade is not under normal conditions seasonal work, but employs its children the year round. In the summer, the children at their own expense take a vacation, the length of which depends on the financial condition of the family. The average age of the children is thirteen. In some shops the children pay for training to learn the tailor's trade.

3. Restaurants and Hotels

In the restaurants and hotels 200 boys and 40 girls are employed. In two of the best hotels we found the children are treated with great consideration. They are paid from 7 to 12 liras ($5.60 to $9.60) a month with board, and in about half the cases room is also furnished. They have reasonably good food, although in one of the hotels we found that the boys working in the dining room eat what is left on the plates of the hotel patrons. In one place we learned that many of the children attend night school and in one rare instance the employer is sending one promising boy to day school. All of them can read and write, and many of them speak two or three languages. Their average physical condition is fair, although we found three or four boys very much below standard. The boys are working in eight hour shifts. No vacations on pay are granted. In case of illness a doctor is furnished. The boys are paid on the demerit system. If a boy breaks rules, he is fined, and it is the accumulated fines that pay the doctor's fee. In the case of five employers, moving picture privilege is granted once a week to each boy.

4. Small Factories

We found varying conditions in this phase of industry. Two buildings were visited where charitable organizations are conducting schools of weaving, embroidery, and other fine needlework. The work is for sale, and orders are being taken. The buildings are well situated, fairly comfortable, and well lighted. The pity of it is to see little girls of six and seven bending over embroidery frames, making minute cross-stitches, and hemstitching beautiful blouses. They have frequent relaxation, however, and toil only four hours a day.

The pay for the older children we found to be in most cases 350 piasters ($2.80) a week. When learning they earn only 5 piasters ($.04). The children attend school in a somewhat haphazard fashion in a room in the same building. In one of the schools lunch is provided.

It is estimated that at least 500 children are at work in small factories. The visitor actually saw only 300 children but it was during the dull season. The factories may double their employees when trade is lively. The average age of these workers is ten and few can read or write.

5. Cigarette and Tobacco Factory

There are 170 children employed in the cigarette and tobacco factory. This is the most modern factory in Constantinople. It is slowly doing away with hand labor, as new machinery is installed. Here the ventilation is very bad and tobacco dust fills the air. More than half of the children are sub-normal physically, and there are many cases of bad eye disease. We saw signs of frantic haste among the piece workers, which disappeared in the rooms where the work was done by machinery. The length of day is nine hours. The highest paid children receive 360 piasters ($2.88) a week. In this place there is a lunch room and

some effort had been made to render it comfortable. Illiteracy is high, and the average age of the children is twelve years. There are many employed under this age, however, and some of them have tasks that seem poorly fitted to a child's capacity. For instance, in a room where the pasteboard boxes are manufactured, a small boy was operating a cutting machine. This machine was unguarded and he was constantly in danger of cutting himself. In this factory, the manufacturers realize to some extent their responsibility, and soon child labor will be prohibited.

6. Stores and Shops

In the stores and shops on the Grande Rue de Pera many children are employed. In one of the Beauty Parlors a small boy carries water and waits upon the artists. He earns 1 Ltq. ($.80) a week. He works from twelve to fourteen hours. No less than 100 children are employed in these shops as clerks and messengers. The average wage was found to be 150 piasters ($1.20) a week for a ten-hour day. All the children have one free day a week. Almost all the children are poorly nourished and are underweight.

It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the number of children employed in Constantinople. There is no registration for child labor, and until some thoroughgoing system is adopted, it will be impossible to make accurate statements.

Among employers there is a lack of responsibility toward the children. In one case in a shoe factory in Stamboul, a messenger boy was obviously suffering from a serious disease which sapped his vitality and made him inefficient. The visitor mentioned this fact to the employer, and asked if the boy would not be of more value to the establishment if he was taken to a hospital and put under treatment for a short time. The employer answered that the boy could do enough work for them in this present con-

dition. This same employer was kind to the boy and gave him to eat from his own scanty dinner. The general attitude seems to be one of indifference toward child labor. Living conditions are so difficult at the present time and the employers themselves are so often in financial straits that the physical and spiritual needs of their employees receive but little attention.

7. *Domestic Service*

An investigation has been made of eight children, all girls, in domestic service. Five are Greek, two are Turks, and one is a Jewess. Regarding age, one is fifteen; three are thirteen; one is ten. The age of the other one is given as "less than fifteen," and is judged to be eight or ten.

a. Sanitary Conditions: The sanitary conditions of the houses where the children live and work are described by the investigators as good.

b. Kind of Work: The work of most of these children is washing dishes and general cleaning. Three assist the cook, six of them are provided with board and room by their employers; the other two are not. The work of one child is doing errands and cleaning for a dressmaker. The following description of the life and conditions of work of one girl of thirteen was given by the investigator. "This child is an orphan taken to the house to be brought up. She is badly treated, is beaten very often, and works from early morning until late at night, as her mistress has no other servant." She receives board and room, but no wages or fees.

c. Wages: Only four of the children are receiving wages. In one other case the child is reported to be receiving fees—"tips." In two cases only is the amount of the wages stated. One gets Ltq. 1 ($.80) per week and the other Ltq. 1½ ($1.20) a week.

d. Hours of Work: In two cases the investigator was

given the answer "all day" to the question on hours of work. One of these girls "looks after the baby at night," but the other has no night work. The hours of four other children are as follows: two are working eight hours, one nine hours; two, ten hours; and one eleven hours. In addition to the long hours of work, a further objectionable feature in two cases is that they do not have board where they work, so have to go home at night.

e. Physical Condition: The children are all in good physical condition.

f. Unions and Benefit Societies: No child belongs to a union or benefit society.

g. Education: The amount of education which these children have is indicated below.

Number of Children	*Education*	*Age*
2	2 Years at school	11-13
1	½ Year " "	Uncertain, probably 8 or 10
1	Taught to read and write at home	13
4	None	10, 12, 13, 15

8. Street Trades

Little is seen of the play life of children in Constantinople. One looks in vain for large playgrounds or parks. Only on side-streets does one come across groups of children playing and shouting in the normal way. On the other hand, the child at work is everywhere in evidence. Hundreds of children make their living in the streets; a few indeed—the ragpickers—have no home but the street and no bed but the sidewalk. All the year round, in heat and cold alike, boys and girls are seen in large numbers on the main thoroughfares and on Galata Bridge, begging, carrying loads, or plying one of the many other street trades. For the most part they are underfed and poorly clothed, some being barefoot even in winter. In one afternoon, in a small area covering principal business streets of Pera and

Galata, 37 beggars were counted, 67 *hamals,* and 43 children employed in vending, boot blacking, street-cleaning, or ragpicking.

a. Nationalities: The following tables made up from the 160 questionnaires on which our study is based, show the relations in numbers of the different nationalities. We limited our inquiry to children under 16 years of age.

	Beggars	*Hamals (Porters)*	*Vendors—including bootblacks and others*
Turks	23	30	40
Greeks	7	11	12
Jews	1	1	26
Armenians	1	2	4
Arabs	1	0	1
Total	33	44	83

b. Beggars: Of the beggars, 17 were boys and 15 were girls; 25 had never attended school at all, the remaining 7 having had anywhere from a few months to two years of schooling. The average age was ten years, and the average earnings, as nearly as could be ascertained, 30 to 40 piasters, ($.24 to $.32) a day. With only 7 exceptions, the physical condition of these children was bad. They were undernourished and skin disease and affections of the eyes were common; of the boys 3 were orphans, who lived with shop-keepers. The others lived with relatives, in most cases with the mother, and 6 of them boasted of a father as well. One interesting case was that of an attractive girl of thirteen who claimed that she supported her mother, brother, and sister. Her blind father was also a beggar. In a few cases the child had a secondary occupation, such as gathering papers and scraps, or, in one instance, stealing coal and wood.

c. Hamals (porters): Of the 44 boys whom we interviewed, the youngest were nine years old but the average age was twelve. Thirty-one had never been to school, the proportion being nearly the same as with the beggars.

Their physical condition, however, was considerably better. This occupation requires no equipment but the basket which the boy carries strapped to his back. Earnings are fairly good—anywhere from 30 piasters ($.24) a day to 3 liras ($2.40) and even 5 liras ($4) when holiday shopping is on. These boys are found in largest numbers in the markets. Most of them work all day, although some of the younger ones work only in the morning. With very few exceptions they were living at home with their mothers, and contributed all or part of their earnings to the support of the family.

d. Vendors: This is the most numerous class of children working on the street. The majority of them are boys (who outnumber the girls in the proportion of 15 to 1). Among the 83 children included in our table of vendors, 8 were bootblacks, 2 were shepherds, and one was a street-cleaner. The variety shown in the goods displayed by the vendors is characteristic of Constantinople, where every kind of article for household and personal use may be found on the street. Fourteen were selling fruit and nuts; 13 matches; 2 chocolate, candy and cake, and others toys, candles, clothes-pins, china bowls, hair pins, note books, etc. The lowest age was seven, and the average age was twelve. Thirty-three had never attended school. Thirty-two had had from a month or two to two years of schooling and fifteen from three to six years. In three cases, one a Greek, one a Turk and one an Armenian, the boy was attending school at the time and worked only on Sundays and holidays or after school hours.

The earnings vary largely according to the wares. A child selling matches, for instance, may earn only 20 piasters ($.16) a day, while another who displays a large tray of chocolate on an important thoroughfare earns 2 liras ($1.60) easily. Bootblacks average about 50 piasters ($.40) a day. Those who move from place to place often

Photograph by T. J. Damon

Hamals Transporting a Hogshead of Wine

Photograph by T. J. Damon

Selling Strawberries in the Stamboul Market

pay no license because they are able to evade the police; those who take up a definite station always pay the police 50 piasters ($.40) a month. In the great majority of cases the child or a member of his immediate family owns the goods. Often two brothers are partners in their little business, or three or four members of the family work together. The father may own a fruit stand and send his child to a busy street corner to sell oranges.

No figure is more characteristic of Constantinople than the child water-vendor. He carries a few glasses and a pitcher of water drawn at a public fountain, and he sells a glass of water for half a piaster ($.004). Earnings are small most of the year and the children doing this work are in rather poor physical condition. The majority of vendors, however, are in fairly good health and are decently clothed.

It is interesting to note that the Jewish nationality is second to the Turk among these vendors. Among the Jewish boys we found three who lived in an orphanage, but who were sent out to support themselves by vending. This method has been adopted by the Jewish orphanages to help meet the large expenses of their institutions.

Out of the 83 in our list, only 8 are employees. They work on a commission basis in every case but one, and this exception is a boy who sells note-books and pencils for a book-store, and is paid a regular wage of 3 liras ($2.40) a week.

VI

THE REFUGEE SITUATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE

C. CLAFLIN DAVIS

OUTLINE

I. Introduction

II. Nationality of Refugees Being Aided in Constantinople

III. Reasons for Migration

IV. Number of Refugees

V. The More Prominent Relief Organizations

VI. Methods of Work for Refugees
1. Housing
2. Feeding
3. Clothing
4. Education
5. Employment
6. Recreation
7. Health
8. Religious and Moral Activities
9. Repatriation

VII. Problems and Their Remedies

VIII. Probable Duration of Present Condition

Supplementary Note

I. Introduction

Constantinople, owing to its geographical situation and its political importance in the Near East, has been for many years, and apparently always will be, the great center for all refugees from political or religious upheavals in the Near East which render life difficult if not impossible where they occur. The Turk naturally seeks asylum in his capital city. Constantinople is a center of the Greek world. The Armenian looks hither for his help. All roads from Asia Minor, the Caucasus, Southern Russia as far as the Volga, and from all the Balkan States, lead to Constantinople.

Since the taking of Constantinople by the Allies, it has also been the quietest and safest place in the Near East; and refugees have, therefore, continued to seek asylum here. Further, the Allies have thrown its doors wide open to refugees, while the great expense of traveling, as well as the drastic passport regulations of other countries, have made it very difficult for them to leave. Hence the great congestion of refugees in Constantinople at the present time. It is both extremely difficult to distribute them to areas where they can become self-supporting, and almost impossible to find employment for them in the city, as Constantinople has few and primitive industries, and the present crisis has curtailed production.

The political, naval, and military representatives of the Allies and of the United States, seeing on their arrival the necessity of improving conditions in the city, immediately began and have since continued to do a very large amount of relief work, both directly and in coöperation with the special relief organizations since established in Constan-

tinople. For example, the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States materially assisted the refugees coming from Russia. The great majority of those who came with the evacuation of Odessa (February, 1920) and Novorossisk (March, 1920) have been cared for by the British; those who came with the evacuation of General Wrangel's army from the Crimea (November, 1920), by the French.

The social conditions of Constantinople at the time it was taken by the Allies, and the continual influx of refugees, have caused relief organizations from other countries to begin operations here from time to time, and have also led to the establishment of local relief organizations.

In order to prevent overlapping of work and resultant loss of efficiency, it is particularly important that the various organizations caring for the refugees should each know what the others are doing. In the compiling of facts along this line, the organizations approached have shown great interest in the work and have coöperated in every possible way. The material gathered is brought up to April 1, 1921.

II. Nationality of Refugees Being Aided in Constantinople

The great majority of destitute refugees in Constantinople are Russians (including Russian subjects who are Armenians, Jews, Greeks, Turks, Georgians, Ukrainians, Tartars, and Kalmucks). There are also large numbers of Turks, Armenians, and Greeks, besides a few Poles, Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Swedes, Germans, and Italians.

III. Reasons for Immigration of Refugees and Their Congestion Here

The immigration of refugees from Russia has been entirely due to Bolshevism. They came to Constantinople

on the evacuations of South Russia because it was the nearest and safest large center they could reach. The Turkish refugees have come in as a result of the invasions of Thrace and Northwestern Asia Minor by the Greek armies, and because of the state of war between the Nationalists and the Greeks. Most of the Greek and Armenian refugees have come, fleeing before the advance of the Turkish forces in the direction of Nicomedia and the southern shores of the Marmora, although some of the Armenians have found their way here from the far eastern provinces of Asia Minor and from the regions of Cilicia.

The congestion of Russian refugees in Constantinople is due primarily to the drastic restrictions of other countries preventing their going there. The few exceptions are particularly Serbia, which has permitted approximately 100,000 Russians to go there; Bulgaria, which has admitted about 10,000; Greece, 2000, not counting the 20,000 on the island of Lemnos under French protection; and France, which has taken several thousands to its colonies. Brazil is also now permitting 10,000 to go there. Another reason for the congestion of refugees in this area is the expense of exporting them. Finally, it is difficult for these refugees to find lucrative employment in other countries at present; and the relief organizations are better organized for their care here than elsewhere.

IV. Number of Refugees in Constantinople April, 1921

It is impossible to get at an accurate statement of the number of refugees of all nationalities now in the city. Various organizations carrying on systematic work for refugees give exceedingly varying estimates.

The Turkish Red Crescent estimates the number as 50,000 Moslems, 40,000 Russians, and 4000 Greeks and

Armenians. But it immediately says, "These are approximate figures, not based on statistics; our Society does not deal with this kind of work."

The American Red Cross gives the figure 65,000, adding that between November, 1920, and April, 1921, they have helped 85,524. But as the work of this organization is almost entirely among Russian refugees, its estimate must be considered as very conservative, as it is not in a position to give figures of the number of refugees of other nationalities.

The Directorate-General for the Settlement of Emigrants and Tribes, of the Ottoman Ministry of Interior, gives the following figures:

Balkan War refugees remaining here since 1912-13	4,000
Refugees from Eastern Vilayets during war of 1914	2,000
From Adrianople, Brousa, Smyrna, and Balukesir districts coming since the armistice and now here	20,480
From different countries (Bulgaria and Greece)	1,275
Total on April 1, 1921	27,755
To this they add as saved from massacres and brought here since that date	37,245
Making a total on October 1, of	65,000

It will be noted that this estimate is of Moslems only, and presumably of Turks only, though that distinction is not always made in the Ottoman Government records.

The Near East Relief gives the following figures:

3,000 Armenians	4,000 Greeks
1,700 Turks	6,000 Turkish emigrants
200 Russian Armenians	715 Georgians
Or a total of refugees	15,615

It will be noted that here we have no estimate of the Russians, aside from a small group of Russian Armenians. In fact, this is the number that the Near East states it is aiding at the date specified. It is not, therefore, a general estimate of the entire number in the city.

Taking the estimates in each case of the organization that ought to be in the best position to know, we may place the approximate figures thus:

Armenians	3,200
Greeks	5,000
Russians	65,000[1]
Turks	27,755
Scattering	1,000
Total	101,955

It will therefore be safe to consider in this problem the round number of 100,000 as representing a conservative estimate of the total.

One reason for the discrepancies lies in the difficulty of classifying certain groups who have been in the city for quite a long time. Another is in the question whether those who have attained some degree of self-support should still be classed as refugees. But the main reason is to be found in the constantly shifting location of these unfortunates, whom it is hard to count in consequence. They do not all register in any one place, not even all of one nationality. And many do not wish to register at all, either from modesty or from fear of imagined consequences.

V. Some of the More Prominent Relief Organizations in Constantinople

American:

American Red Cross, 14 Tepe Bashi, Pera.

American Red Cross, Constantinople Chapter, American Consulate.

Near East Relief, 25 Rue Taxim, Pera.

American Committee for the Rescue and Education of Russian Children, represented by Thomas Whittemore, 25 Rue Pir Mehmed, Pera.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Bible House, Stamboul.

[1] The Union of Russian Towns estimates the number at 90,000.

Mennonite Relief Unit, 25 Rue Taxim, Pera.
Young Men's Christian Association, Pera Branch, 40 Rue Cabristan, Pera.
Young Men's Christian Association, Russian Social Center, 40 Rue de Brousse, Pera.
Young Women's Christian Association, 10 Rue Shimal, Pera.

Armenian:

Armenian National Relief Committee, Armenian Church, Baluk Bazar, Pera.
Armenian Red Cross, 33 Rue Asmali Mesdjid, Pera.

British:

British Labor Bureau, Tower House, Galata.
British Red Cross, Camp for Russian Refugees, Touzla.

French:

Little Sisters of the Poor, Old People's Home, near Bomonti Brewery, Pera.
French Red Cross (Hopital Jeanne d'Arc) Rue d'Olivo, Pera.

Greek:

Central Commission of Relief to Deported Greeks, Beuyük Millet Han, No. 61, Pera.

Jewish:

Joint Distribution Committee, American Funds for Jewish War Sufferers, Journal No. 9, Pera.

Russian:

All Russian Union of Zemstvos, 288, Grand Rue de Pera.
Russian Embassy; Section of Assistance to Russian Refugees in Constantinople, Pera.
Russian Red Cross, Russian Consulate, Pera.
Russian Registration Bureau, 14 Rue Sakiz Aghadj, Pera.
Union of Russian Towns, 25 Pir Mehmed, Pera.
Russian White Cross, Kütchük Parmak Kapou, Pera.
Central Union of Russian Invalids, Constantinople.

Turkish:

Turkish Red Crescent, Stamboul.
Directorate-General for the Settlement of Emigrants and Tribes, Ministry of Interior, Stamboul.

VI. Methods of Work for Refugees

All the above agencies for the care of refugees are confronted with practically the same problem—a human flood diverted from its natural channel and utterly destitute in the way of shelter, food, apparel, work, play, or physical, moral, and intellectual care and advantages. The varieties, therefore, of work for refugees include those along the lines of Housing, Feeding, Clothing, Education, Employment, Recreation, Health, Religious and Moral Care, Repatriation, etc. These as carried on in Constantinople will be treated of in succession.

1. Housing

The accommodations for the refugees are necessarily limited by the fact that so many great fires had congested the stable population of the city, even before the refugees came. With tens of thousands of houses burned, it has been extremely difficult to find place for one hundred thousand persons from outside. Considering the difficulties, the various relief agencies have indeed done remarkably well. Despite necessary overcrowding, and the inadequacy of shelters provided, there has been no serious outbreak of disease among the refugees, and the typhus that came with the Russians from the Crimea was soon stamped out.

The large numbers of Russians taking refuge here have been housed in wooden barracks, in tents, in children's homes, in cheap lodging-houses, in temporary hospitals, in rest-houses, and in private houses and hotels. Through the Russian Embassy the Russians themselves give free lodging to about seven thousand. The British Reconstruction and Relief Committee has a boarding-school for children which shelters 150, the eighty boys being in two tents and the seventy girls in two tents and a brick hut. A camp for 2000 Russians at Touzla, nominally under the French,

is largely supported by the British; here the families are in wooden barracks and the single men in tents, each refugee being given three blankets and either a stretcher or a mattress; there are also facilities for one bath (hot) per week for each refugee. In some cases, as with the Mennonite Relief Unit, promissory notes are taken, the refugees promising to repay when able. The American Red Cross has also done this. But in most cases housing facilities are given with no stipulation for repayment. The French Red Cross has maintained a hospital of forty to sixty beds, and a convalescent home at Beuyükdere. The Russian White Cross has a hospital, and a home for invalids at San Stefano, housing from 250 to 300 in the two. The Russian Red Cross has temporary hospitals for doctors and nurses, and two other hospitals, a shelter for nursing sisters, and a children's home.

The Armenian refugees are chiefly housed in six "camps," or large buildings formerly used either as barracks or as schools or otherwise, and where the refugees take care of themselves, being given shelter only. These six accomodate 2772 persons. Only in exceptional cases, as with 150 Armenian officers from the Russian army, are bedding and clothing given in addition. No compensation is asked of any for lodgings.

The Greeks maintain two big houses for refugees in Beshiktash, and most of the sufferers are housed in school buildings, churches and private homes. In the two houses in Beshiktash about 716 persons live.

The Jews, through the Joint Distribution Committee of the American Funds for Jewish War Sufferers, operate four emigrant boarding houses, one each in Ortakeuy (for 350 persons), Balat (75 persons) and Scutari (100 persons), and the Colony Messilah Chadassah (300 persons). They also house many in hotels and private lodgings. Up to April 1st they had housed about 10,000 refugees.

Photograph by Resne

Moslem Refugees in a Mosque

Photograph by Resne

Refugees Sheltered in a Tower of the Ancient Byzantine City Wall

The Near East Relief has gone into the housing problem only in the case of 715 Georgians, housed in a camp at Anatoli Kavak. The Young Women's Christian Association (American) maintains a hostel for girls at 132 Tarla Bashi, Pera, with accommodations for twenty-five to thirty-two, most of whom have been Russians. The Little Sisters of the Poor, a French organization which occupies a large building donated years ago by two Greek philanthropists, have in it a home for the aged, where eleven men and twenty-five women have been housed since the war ended.

2. Feeding

The destitute Russian refugees were at first mainly fed by the French, with regular rations. Up to April 1 this was continued; since then it has stopped. At that date the number being fed by the French was given by the Union of Russian Towns as 67,000, but this apparently included those in Lemnos. In many places barely half of what would be necessary to ensure health was being given; and tuberculosis, anæmia, etc., were noted in consequence. The American Red Cross was feeding 6000 Russians daily, through Russian organizations, giving flour, chocolate, canned goods, etc. The "Mayak," or Y. M. C. A. center for Russians, runs a cost-price restaurant for members only, where 210 per day get their meals; also through November and December a soup kitchen was conducted where 22,000 free meals were given. They gave besides an average of about $200 worth of free meals per month. The British supplied rations to large numbers in the Touzla camps and elsewhere. Tickets were distributed at the Russian Embassy for free dinners, mainly to invalids, women, and children to the number of 14,318 persons. The Russian Red Cross has five feeding stations, at Nishantash, Stamboul, Galata, Beuyükdere, and the Island of Antigone, where from 3600 to 3700 persons are fed. Supplementary food is also given

to children under five, and certain mothers. Other organizations run soup kitchens for the Russians where hot meals are supplied.

In the Armenian camps, a half-loaf of bread per day is given each person on the list. Since June 1, 1920, the Armenian National Relief has thus given out 168,245 loaves. There are now two camps thus supplied, feeding about 400 or 500.

The Greek Central Committee runs soup-kitchens in connection with its two houses in Beshiktash. The Turkish Ministry of Interior, through its Directorate-General for the Settlement of Emigrants and Tribes, gives hot meals three times per week to those in the official institutions of the Government. It also gives out provisions to the needy. The Turkish Red Crescent, while not making the distinction between refugees and other poor, reports the distribution of food up to the end of last February to 20,000–45,000 persons per day. The Jewish Joint Distribution Committee feeds those in its emigrant houses with hot meals, and gives bread and foodstuffs to those in other lodgings, as needed.

In general it may be said that while cases of starvation have been known in this city, they have been due to failure to get in touch with possible sources of relief rather than to any lack of organizations to supply the need, or any lack of food supplies.

RATION SCALE AT RUSSIAN REFUGEE CAMP, TOUZLA

Commodity	*Adults*	*Children*
Bread	1½ lbs.	3/4 lb.
Potatoes or fresh veg.	3 oz.	3 oz.
Potted or fresh meat	8 oz.	4 oz.
Tea	¼ oz.	¼ oz.
Jam	1 oz. (men) 2 oz. (women)	2 oz.
Milk	½ oz. (women only)	2 oz.
Rice	....	2 oz. (3 times per wk.)
Salt	¼ oz.	¼ oz.
Candles	One per ten persons	
Oil	For authorized lamps	

Photograph by Resne

A Meal of Bread and Cheese

Photograph by Resne

Waifs in Stamboul

Commodity	*Adults*	*Children*
Matches	One box per week.	
Wood	4 lbs. plus 4 lbs. per week for baths.	
Charcoal	1/5 lb.	1/5 lb.
Oatmeal	2 oz.	2 oz. twice weekly
Flour	2 oz.	2 oz. once weekly

Adults and children receive 2 oz. per day extra from "Fund for Women and Children Only."

3. Clothing

In comparison with the need of feeding, the call for clothing for the refugees has not been very great in Constantinople. Still, many of those coming from Russia were in desperate need. The French Red Cross distributed linen and clothing to about 7343 men, 4282 women, and 3020 children; the Russian branch of the American Y. M. C. A. gave to 2507 others; the British War Office, represented by Sir Charles Harrington, gave clothing, including boots, to those at Touzla Camp, being assisted in this by the local British Committee; and the American Red Cross has since November, 1920, distributed liberally to needy Russian refugees from its storehouses, and through various recognized Russian relief organizations, estimating the number thus helped by it at 71,850. The Mennonite Relief Unit and the Joint Distribution Committee have also aided in this work among the Russians. The Russian Red Cross has a central depot and a distributing center, as well as a depot for materials and for cutting. It maintains six workshops where the refugees produce clothing and linen for refugees. The Turkish Red Crescent reports giving clothing and shoes to more than 2000 Turkish refugees; and the Turkish Directorate for the Settlement of Emigrants and Tribes has distributed, partly in Constantiople and partly in Anatolia, eighty tons of clothing. A recent gift of thirty tons, from benevolent societies, for refugees in Stamboul, is being distributed. Under the Near East Re-

lief, a considerable number of refugees have been given materials from which they have made clothing for themselves or for sale at cost or less than cost, to the needy.

4. Education

Considerable attention has been given by the Russian refugees themselves to the education of their children. They have been helped by various others, so that over a thousand children are receiving a regular training of some sort. Under the lead of the Union of Russian Towns, the Russians have opened a gymnasium for day pupils, with 316 enrolled; a boarding house with 217 pupils; a school with kindergarten department, in Halki, with 90 pupils; they have also subsidized a school of 30 in Beuyükdere, and one of 100 in Touzla. The French Red Cross opened an infant school in Halki, which has been transferred to the Russian Consulate. The Russian White Cross has a school with three sections at San Stefano, with 80 pupils. The Russian Mayak in coöperation with the Mennonite Unit and the American Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., has carried on a school for chauffeurs, from which 12 have graduated and which now has 15; also one for carpentry and ironwork, from which 17 have completed the course. Near the Camp at Touzla, the Rev. F. F. Komolsky has a school of 150 pupils of ages from 6 to 16; this was started in November, 1920, in the island of Prinkipo, and later transferred. It is under British supervision, the Rev. B. Churchward being the acting principal. The studies are on the Russian system, and the discipline and physical exercises on the British. There is also in Touzla a high school run by a Russian director and staff. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. give special facilities in their educational plants to refugees, Russian, Armenian and other: the Y. M. C. A. in the Bowen School, and the Y. W. C. A. in their language, commercial and domestic classes. Needy pupils are received at much

reduced rates, or even free. Rev. Thomas Whittemore, of the American Committee for the Rescue and Education of Russian Children, has helped Mrs. Neratoff's school at Stenia, which has 150 pupils, and Mrs. Lermontoff's in Antigone, with 14 young men; he has also placed promising pupils in Robert and Constantinople Colleges; and he has distributed many books to other schools where needed. The Near East Relief does not go in for educational work except in the orphanages. In addition, with money furnished by Wellesley College, schools have been started in some refugee camps. The children of the Turkish refugees attend either schools in orphanages or the already established local elementary schools. In only two instances has the Government Directorate started new schools for refugees—in the Selimié and Davoud Pasha barracks. The Armenian national authorities have given orders that the children of refugees be taken into the community schools free; and only where there is no room in these, have separate schools been established. In some cases the Near East Relief helps Armenian children by a grant of Ltq. ½ per month for each child. In the various Armenian refugee camps, it is estimated there are 250 children of from six to fourteen years. The Jewish War Sufferers' Committee maintains Hebrew courses in its emigrant houses, and gives besides some technical training such as motor driving, etc. The Union of Russian Towns has furthermore given fifty-four lectures, at three different points in the city, and has carried on three-months' trade courses; and it has opened reading-rooms and libraries in nine places. To do this, they purchased the Sytin Library of 68,000 volumes, and have placed these books at the disposal of the refugees.

5. Employment

One of the most serious problems in connection with the refugee situation is the lack of work. Thousands who

would be eager for work are unable to find any. The city having lost its two great areas of commerce for the time being—Asia Minor and the Caucasus—business is very low, and the local population has not enough employment, to say nothing of the refugees. The All-Russian Union of Zemstvos has given particular attention to the matter among the Russians; through its efforts 1965 persons have found permanent employment, and 1025 others are working in concerns organized by its financial assistance. It has organized labor associations and established workshops, sometimes through granting loans. The Russian Branch of the Y. M. C. A. has found positions for 808; and in the local workshops of the American Red Cross, between 350 and 400 Russians are employed.

A great variety of trades have been tried. In the Touzla Camp, basket-making, toy-making, gardening, carpentry, shoemaking, embroidery, dressmaking, and the cleaning of railway coaches to prepare them for repainting, all figure in the list, while more than one is earning something through his ability as an artist. The Y. M. C. A. and other agencies have interested themselves in promoting Russian music, through the organizing of orchestras or by securing private pupils for musicians, of whom there are quite a large number in the city. This, however, has not been very successful financially. Positions have been found for specialists in many occupations. The Mennonite Relief Unit has furnished sewing machines at cost on easy payments, and has set up some in small business by loans to be returned gradually. The Y. W. C. A. has established an employment bureau, started in October, 1920, and has succeeded in placing an average of 30 girls and women per month, charging no fee. The Jewish War Sufferers' Committee has also an employment Bureau, but has great difficulty in finding employment. The Armenian National Relief placed 1450 persons at work during the year April, 1920, to April, 1921;

but they have no record as to permanency. The Near East Relief has given employment to a few women in its "Fabrica," or factory, at making clothes, but has no organized work for refugees. The Turkish Directorate for the Settlement of Emigrants and Tribes has supplied 3000 workers to the railways and other organizations. It places girls who have no parents or relatives in families as servants or adopted children, and carries on a small workshop for making clothing. The Greek Central Committee maintains an information office and gives advice, it also organizes concerts where the refugees may earn a little. But from all sides the cry arises of the scarcity of decent employment. Herein lies one of the greatest dangers, for there are always wrong forms of employment where good wages can be secured.

6. Recreation

The value of recreation in solving the problem of the unemployed and the destitute has received scant recognition, and only in comparatively rare instances has any effort been made to provide recreation from without or to seek it from within. What has been done has been almost entirely under the initiative of British or American friends. The great influx of refugees of various races during the past two years has brought again into the foreground the fact that for the most part the peoples of the Near East do not know how to play, and must be taught the physical and educational value of recreation.

The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations have as a part of their regular programs the recreational element, both in the athletic features and in the social. The Y. M. C. A. has for its members an athletic club, which had 50 members in 1920 and 120 in 1921, in connection with its Russian branch; it had in 1920 some tennis courts; it also has organizations of Boy Scouts,

with 126 members, and Girl Guides, with 26. It managed Scout Camps in June and September of 1920. Further, it has arranged weekly concerts, and non-political lectures on popular themes. The Y. W. C. A. furnishes recreation weekly at the Service Center, open to all members. Also each of their clubs (13 of them, with a total membership of 290) has a social recreational meeting once a month. It organizes picnics and furnishes tennis facilities in summer. The Mennonite Unit has placed newspapers and books in refugees' homes, and the American personnel has furnished a few musical instruments for the enjoyment of refugees. At the Touzla Camp for Russians, the British have helped these to organize a very good football team, which plays twice a week with the British sailors. They have a theater, with hand-painted scenery, and concerts have been organized with two very good choirs to sing. Boxing, bathing, etc., are carried on; and the older refugees find recreation in games of cards. The Jewish Committee has opened a reading-room for refugees in the center of the town, and another in Ortakeuy. The other boarding homes are supplied with newspapers and information. The sad comment of the Armenian National Relief Committee is that no recreation has been possible, that the children of one camp near the sea have sea baths, but there is no organized recreation. No other organization of any kind reports any recreational activities.

7. Health

It speaks volumes for the system and skill with which the health of the refugees has been cared for, that despite the influx of a hundred thousand poor and starving strangers into a city already overcrowded by reason of numerous severe fires in the residence section, there has not been any serious outbreak of contagious disease, and the many cases of typhus fever brought with the refugees from

Russia did not lead to any epidemic. Realizing the terrible possibilities, each organization has exerted itself to prevent disease, and to ensure the health of its wards.

Among Russian organizations, the Russian Red Cross has taken the lead in activity in this direction. Its free hospital, St. Nicholas, has 145 beds, with an isolation ward, in addition, of 25 beds; and a free ambulance with doctors and a dentist. Its sanitary service visits the lodging houses of the refugees for inspection, as well as the schools. It has furnished many artificial limbs, and quantities of bandages, etc. A new home for invalids has been opened since May 1. The Russian camp at Touzla has two hospitals, one general, the other for infectious cases; all the doctors are Russian, as are the nurses; the British furnish the medical supplies. The worst trouble here has been typhus, but that is now subdued. In San Stefano, the Russian White Cross has a hospital of about 250 beds, a home for invalids accommodating 120, and a home for 25 nursing mothers, it also has a sanatorium for nervous patients in Therapia, with accommodation for sixty. The All-Russian Union of Zemstvos supports a sanatorium for tubercular cases, with 106 patients. The French Red Cross maintains the Jeanne d'Arc Hospital, with 40 to 60 beds, where invalids have been for a total of 9929 days; also a lying-in hospital for 138 women; it has a home for convalescents at Beuyükdere. Each of the camps under the Armenian National Committee has a camp doctor; and the more serious cases are sent free to the Yedi Koule Armenian Hospital. The Near East Relief sends its doctors and nurses for general medical inspection and treatment, especially of children, and distributes milk for undernourished children. It inspects all the camps, carries on eight free clinics for children and adults, and maintains a trachoma hospital for children at Boyadjikeuy and a tuberculosis hospital for children at Yedi Koulé. There is organized recreation in all

its hospitals. The Jewish emigrant houses have regular examination by a medical inspector; and the newly established Ambulance gives free treatment to all needy Jews as well as to others. The American Red Cross has undertaken no medical work aside from the aid it gives to various hospitals. The Turkish Directorate-General for Emigrants has a sanitary department, and its doctors coöperate with the municipal physicians in examining the refugees. There are temporary hospitals in the barracks camps of Davoud Pasha, Selimieh and Iplik-hané, and in the wooden barracks at Bayazid; severe cases are sent to city hospitals. Drugs are furnished free at the Refugee Pharmacy. In Stamboul among the refugees, 30,000 have been vaccinated against smallpox, typhus, typhoid, cholera, etc., and 2000 to 3000 are being examined daily. The Russian Y. M. C. A. (Mayak) has a daily free clinic, where 6132 persons have been treated. In the Y. W. C. A., a series of six lectures have been given on health and hygiene by Dr. Graff of the Near East Relief; there are two first-aid clubs.

8. Religious and Moral Activities

Among the refugees coming from various directions have been a certain number of priests of the different faiths represented; and these have been utilized by the organizations working for the refugees in efforts for their religious and moral welfare. Churches have been established among the Russian refugees in Camps Selimié and Bernadotte, and two in Camp Touzla; regular religious instruction is being given in the schools at Top-hané, Touzla, the day-school of the Russian Y. M. C. A., the orphanage of the Mennonite Relief Unit, and elsewhere; in the church at San Stefano a chorus of Russian refugees sings, and the invalid refugees have their part by keeping the church decorated.

An interesting feature of the influx of refugees is the opening of what appears to be the first Buddhist service

ever established in this city. Among the refugees from Russia are a large number of Kalmucks. These are of a Mongolian race, inhabiting various parts of Russian territory. The Buddhist service is held at the Touzla Camp.

There are also Protestant services held weekly at Touzla under the care of Rev. Messrs. Komolsy and Churchward, for the Protestants among the Russians; the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. welcome refugees to their services and Bible discussions groups, but carry on no special effort for them along purely religious lines. The Russian Registration Bureau tries to be a moral help to young women and girls in earning their living; the matrons of the various Homes prevent their taking service as far as possible in bars and restaurants, where moral conditions are very dangerous. The Y. W. C. A. has also taken special pains to help refugee girls to safe and wholesome employment conditions.

In the Armenian refugee camps, moral conditions are very low, because of hopelessness, misery, and overcrowding. The Near East Relief has tried to improve conditions by separating the men, the women, and the children where practicable. The camp directors have been urged to push the religious work of the priests among their own people. Two Protestant preachers, supported by the Pentecostal Church of America, have preached in the various camps twice a week without pay. Considerable visiting of the camps has been done by American missionaries, for the purpose of elevating the morale and helping the spiritual life of the refugees.

In the localities where considerable numbers of Turkish refugees have congregated, Imams and Muezzins from among their own number have been appointed by the competent Government department, to carry on the regular worship of these refugees; special buildings have been devoted to prayer; and religious and moral advice is being given them by the Imams. Drinking is of course drasti-

cally forbidden. Efforts are being made to keep up the standards of religion and morals.

9. Repatriation

This ought to be the last stage in dealing with the refugee problem. Unfortunately the time has not come when that is possible to any extent. There have been two experiments along the line of repatriation, both of them so disastrous as to render extremely unwise any repetition of the move. Some Armenians were sent back to Armenia some time ago; a lot of them were killed, and a few returned to Constantinople. Similarly with the Russians: the experiment of going back to Odessa on a steamer was tried and gave bad results; most of the returning refugees were shot. Still, there have been a few cases where Russian refugees not connected with the White armies have been allowed to return into Russia. The Jewish War Sufferers' Committee has helped some of their wards who were returning into Esthonia, Latvia, Lettonia and other places. Where refugees were successful in securing visés for America or Western Europe, the Mennonite Relief Unit and other organizations have helped the fortunate ones to get away. Previous to November, 1920, the Assistance Section of the Russian Embassy helped 5000 Russians to go back to the Caucasus; and between May 1, 1920, and April 1, 1921, it helped 10,300 who were sent to other Slavic countries. This is not repatriation, but is the next step to it.

As long as political conditions in the regions from which these refugees have come continue so unsettled, making them feel that any attempt to return may very likely be fatal, repatriation is impossible. Even when peace is signed, and life is not in danger from violence, with villages and homes in so many cases destroyed during war activities, and even farms and orchards ruined, the problems of repatriation will

be almost baffling and will require concerted action and very large expenditure of funds.

VII. Problems and Their Remedies

The most serious problem, in the opinion of the agencies at work for the refugees, is that of unemployment. It is pitiful to see the thousands of idle men and women eating the food granted to them by charity, when they would so gladly live by their own efforts if there were any decent way to support themselves. The effect is bad both on givers and on receivers. Yet all efforts thus far to provide work have been pitifully inadequate. It is of course true that some among these strangers would prefer not to work in any case; but most of them eagerly seize on the least chance of attaining self-support. Great public works, such as road-building, forestry, and the starting of industries for women, have been urged; but the present municipal government has no funds to start such, and in the uncertain future of the city, persons from outside can hardly be induced to make the needed outlay.

Another serious problem is the lack of housing facilities. In summer, tents are usable; but almost every one of the camps is unsanitarily crowded, and still new refugees flock into the city. With so large a proportion of the city's available residence sections burned down in the recent fires, and no reconstruction of the burned areas going on, this problem is sure to continue serious.

Still another results from the two mentioned. It is the moral and social condition of the refugees. When children and families to which they do not belong, and young girls are huddled in the same room, sometimes several families in the same room, it is an invitation to immoral conditions. The apathy and stagnation of unemployment are fruitful ground for the worst sort of reaction. The police records

of the city show an increase in the population of the red light districts, coming from among the Russian refugees.

Another problem is that of feeding this multitude. The relief organizations have thus far done wonderfully well. But can this be kept up indefinitely? And what will happen when some of the organizations stop work? Through the energetic action of the Interallied Police, prices have been kept down, so that food is obtainable at reasonable rates. But unless the supply of relief funds continues, the refugees will soon have sold everything they can sell, and eaten up the proceeds, and will then face starvation.

The problem of repatriation, and that of lessening the refugee population of the city has been enhanced by passport difficulties, making it very hard for any of them to get away to any other place. With the Russians, they face a very real danger if they try to reënter their own country; but for the very same cause, other countries naturally hesitate to admit them for fear of admitting Bolshevists unawares. In just so far as other countries have opened their doors, the serious congestion in this city has been relieved.

The Greek and Turkish authorities both speak of the problem of clothing, and with the approach of winter this becomes serious, though in the case of most of the refugees it is not as troublesome as other problems. Clothing in large quantities has been made by some of the refugees themselves, for themselves and for others.

VIII. Probable Duration of Present Condition

The information received from the various relief organizations regarding the probable duration of the present state of affairs relating to refugees, indicates that it is impossible to foretell, but that so long as the political situation is unsettled the refugees will not return to their homes. One organization stated that this would probably be from

two and one-half to three years. As a social and economic problem, however, the refugee question would be solved if work were found for those in the city, so that they could support themselves while compelled to remain away from their proper places of abode.

(December 31, 1921) Note:

Since April 1, the refugee situation has materially changed by reason of the withdrawal of the American Red Cross, following shortly after the cessation of French rationing of Russian refugees. On the decision of the American Red Cross to withdraw, a local committee under the lead of Mr. Proctor was formed, which has since taken the lead in the care of the refugees. The local chapter of the American Red Cross has coöperated in this work, and also a Belgian Committee. Otherwise the agencies at work among refugees of all nationalities remain much as they were in the spring.

The official estimate of the Russian authorities at present places the number of Russian refugees remaining in the city at 34,000, besides 2140 at Gallipoli. Of the rest, some 12,000 were repatriated to Russia; and most of the others went in small numbers to Serbia, Bulgaria, Czecho-slovakia, and elsewhere.

M. Iliine, Chief of Staff to General Wrangel, divides the 34,000 in Constantinople into four classes, as follows:

(1) A very small body, of a few dozen individuals, who are well-to-do and can get what they wish.

(2) Those now succeeding in earning their own support, numbering about 15,000.

(3) Those able to work, but who can find no employment or means of livelihood, numbering about 9000.

(4) Invalids, cripples, old people, and the sick, who are utterly dependent, numbering 6000; together with 400 children under seventeen years of age.

The problem for solution consists of those of the third and fourth categories. For able-bodied persons, the choice would seem to lie between creating work for them, and allowing them to migrate to such of the Balkan countries as have need of labor.

The latest statistics from the Armenian Central Committee place the total number of refugees, Armenians, in the city who have come since the beginning of the war, at between 40,000 and 45,000; but of these only about 15,000 are in need of help, the rest having found means of self-support. Of these, about 3000 are in the camps. Of the late migration from Cilicia, about 5000 have arrived in Constantinople.

There have been no noteworthy changes in the figures of Turkish, Greek or Jewish refugees since the spring.

VII

ORPHANAGES IN CONSTANTINOPLE

ANNA WELLES BROWN

OUTLINE

I. General Conditions in Armenian, Turkish, and Greek Orphanages
   1. Armenian Orphanages
      a. For Very Young Children
      b. For Girls
      c. For Boys
      d. Central Orphanage at Kouleli
      e. Beyler Bey Industrial School
      f. For Trachoma Cases
      g. General Remarks
   2. Turkish Orphanages
      a. Bebek
   3. Greek Orphanages

II. Jewish and Russian Orphanages

III. Recreational Aspect of the Orphanages
   1. Armenian Orphanages
   2. Turkish Orphanages
   3. Greek Orphanages

IV. Educational Aspect of Orphanages
   1. Main Features Common to the Orphanages of All Nationalities
   2. Personnel
      a. Degree of Efficiency
      b. Inadequate Number of Teachers
      c. Supervision
      d. Salaries
   3. Equipment
      a. Buildings
      b. Playgrounds
      c. Classrooms
      d. Textbooks
      e. Libraries
   4. The Courses of Study
      a. Provision Made for Orphans Completing the Primary School Course
      b. Industrial Training
   5. Education of Orphans in Community Schools

V. Orphanage Statistics

I. General Conditions in Armenian, Turkish, and Greek Orphanages

Of the many thousands of motherless and fatherless children whom recent wars, deportations, and massacres in Turkey have cast on their communities for protection, nearly 10,000 are located in the Constantinople district.

The figures resulting from our investigation are as follows:

Armenians	3827
Turks	2798
Greeks	1548
Jews	279
Russians	280

Armenians and others in Roman Catholic orphanages, 171.

This makes a total of 8624, but there are about 500 more Jewish orphans who are boarded out in private families.

1. Armenian Orphanages

There are no less than 25 Armenian orphanages. The smallest of them is the Neutral Home, where children are brought from Turkish houses for special care and study before being assigned to an orphanage. It is under the protection and supervision of the British Police. The home is situated in Shishli, and the number of children varies from 3 to 20.

a. For Very Young Children

There are three institutions especially designed for very young children. One of these is the Armenian Red Cross Home at Beshiktash.

Of the 25 girls and 20 boys under the age of five who are cared for in this home, 34 are full orphans; the other 11 are half orphans, very young babies cared for by their own mothers. The diet, the sleeping conditions, and the provisions for play, which include kindergarten equipment, are all conducive to the normal growth of the child. Two kindergarten orphanages for 225 girls are supported by the Armenian Central Committee with aid from the Near East Relief. The one at Couroutcheshmé is handicapped by a totally inadequate building. The only water supply is a public fountain at the foot of the hill a block away. Facilities for play are almost wholly lacking.

Conditions in the Beshiktash orphanage are much better. Here there is plenty of room for play. There are three special kindergarten teachers and one other teacher in charge of the classes. Daily gymnastic drill is an unusual feature of the curriculum. A kind director and his wife exercise an affectionate supervision over their charges. On Sunday afternoons the director, a former pastor, gives them a religious talk.

b. For Girls

Exclusive of a hospital for trachoma cases, there are 12 orphanages for girls. A complete account of them would take up more space than this report permits. For purpose of study we have divided them into three groups. Some details will be given about one or two orphanages in each group.

First, there are two refugee homes, one of which is maintained by the Armenian Red Cross at Scutari in a building formerly occupied by the American College for Girls, and one at Arnaoutkeuy. The latter provides a home for 90 girls, 14 to 18 years old, who have been rescued from Turkish houses. The property, which includes a beautiful terraced garden, was formerly occupied by a Turk. It was

requisitioned by the British for its present use. On the top floor of the building there is a hospital supported by the Red Cross for the special treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea.

The girls spend two hours a day in study and are given instruction also in knitting and tailoring. They make all the clothes worn by the 1000 boys in the Kouleli Orphanage. They work practically all day and have very little recreation. The weekly visit of an American Y. W. C. A. Secretary who teaches gymnastics and games, and an occasional lesson in folk dancing from an Armenian teacher, bring a little variety into the otherwise humdrum lives of the girls. When they are discharged, it is to get married. Twenty-six marriages were recorded in two months; many of the brides have left for America.

Our next group includes the orphanages at Balat, Makrikeuy, Ortakeuy, Koum Kapou, Scutari, and Kadikeuy. They are supported by the Armenian Central Committee with aid from the Near East Relief, with the exception of the Makrikeuy orphanage which is maintained by a local Armenian Committee. A few children here and there are supported in part by relatives.

These orphanages differ very much in character. The visitor receives a gloomy impression of some, a cheerful impression of others. The high cost of food and clothing, which in these times presses upon all classes and all nationalities, accounts for the insufficiency of clothes and bedding and the scantiness of diet which must in some instances be recorded. In general, much emphasis is laid on work and little on play. In the Ortakeuy orphanage, the girls are prepared to become teachers. The Kadikeuy orphanage is noteworthy for its particularly beautiful building which was formerly the residence of a Turkish Pasha. Its present inmates have the advantage of a good curriculum, including music and drawing, and appear to enjoy life in a

normal way. As a rule in these orphanages church attendance is required, and some religious instruction is given by a visiting pastor or priest.

The third group includes four orphanages directed by Armenian Sisters. The St. Anne orphanages in Pera and Psamatia and the St. George orphanage in Galata are in the care of Roman Catholic Sisters. In the St. George orphanage, in addition to 35 Armenians, there are 20 little Russians. The atmosphere in these institutions is not unlike that of a convent boarding-school. There is an exact routine, and discipline is emphasized. The Sisters conduct classes and also teach the children fine sewing and embroidery. The sale of articles made by the girls aids in their support. Church contributions also help out. The main support, however, comes from the Armenian Central Committee.

In the case of the Kalfayan orphanage at Haskeuy, we have an interesting example of an orphanage founded and endowed by a private individual. Four Gregorian Sisters—the only ones in the world—are in charge. They are assisted by teachers who come in for special subjects. Both the instruction and the physical care given are of high order, and the atmosphere is that of a well-ordered, attractive home. The girls are so well trained in household arts that many of them are sought in marriage by young Armenian men. The Sisters continue to take a motherly interest in the girls, after they leave the institution to get married or to enter domestic service.

c. For Boys

The boys' orphanage are 7 in number. The first 5 in our list are comparatively small orphanages ranging in the number of their occupants from 45 to 50.

The Karageuzian orphanage at Shishli, which is privately endowed, has an especially good, up-to-date building

Nature Study in an Orphanage

and fine grounds. In addition to a good school curriculum, there is training in mechanics, shoemaking, and carpentering—the only Armenian orphanage with the exception of Beyler Bey where this is the case.

The Boyadjian School at Makrikeuy is also privately endowed. This school and the Arnaoutkeuy orphanage (which is supported by a local committee) combine a day school with the orphanage, and this gives the boys the advantage of contact with day pupils.

The 86 boys of the Essayan orphanage have a similar advantage. They go out of the building to school. There is a good orchestra, and interest in sports is fostered by the weekly visits of a Y. M. C. A. Secretary. Special care is taken in the planning of the meals. This is the only orphanage where we found a list of the week's menus posted in the kitchen. It is supported largely by church income.

Of the Narli-Kapou orphanage it has been said that it is a "marvel of what can be done on next to nothing." The funds which come from a local committee are insufficient to meet more than the bare necessities. It is nicely situated on the seashore and affords sea bathing in summer.

d. Central Orphanage at Kouleli

This is the largest orphanage in the Constantinople district. It houses no less than 1000 boys and 99 employees. The building was formerly a Turkish military school and is up to date, having electricity, steam heat, and good sanitary arrangements. It has two large recreation halls, large play-grounds, and sea-bathing facilities. Besides the Director, there are 29 teachers on the resident staff, one play director, a priest, and a doctor. Two hundred of the youngest boys have their meals in a separate diningroom and attend kindergarten classes, and 300 of the boys are Boy Scouts. The Y. M. C. A. has introduced a variety of sports, including occasional field meets. In spite of the

good care taken of the boys, there can be no semblance of family life in such a large institution.

e. Beyler Bey Industrial School

This school teaches carpentering, shoemaking, and tailoring. Its 247 pupils spend half their time at their lessons and the other half in learning one of these trades. They are discharged when they have completed the industrial course. The director continues to take an interest in the boys after they leave, but there is no system for following them up.

The recreational activities are football, basketball, "hikes," and sea bathing. The management and the spirit of the school are excellent, but the work of the boys is greatly handicapped by lack of material in the shops.

f. For Trachoma Cases

Children afflicted with trachoma, a contagious eye disease, are sent for special treatment to one of two orphanages. At Haskeuy there are 133 girls, and at Yedi Koulé there are 60 girls and 270 boys. When cured they are sent back to the orphanage from which they came. As far as the eye conditions permit, the usual curriculum is carried out as in the other orphanages. At Haskeuy, daily religious exercises are conducted by the director.

g. General Remarks

1. Both the boys and the girls are as a rule dressed in uniform. Clothing and equipment are somewhat better on the whole for boys than for girls. The expenditure for girls averages at least Ltq. ($.80) less a month than for boys.

4. Regarding all the Armenian orphanages (with the exception of Essayan Orphanage), it may be said that very

little investigation is made of family history, and that in general only school and medical records are kept.

2. The children are bathed oftener in some places than in others. In 11 cases we found that they were given a warm bath (usually a Turkish bath) once a month, and in 7 cases once in two weeks. In one orphanage they gave no baths during the cold weather.

3. While in no two orphanages is the diet exactly the same, there is a tendency in most of them to depend too much on starchy foods. A meal often consists of rice and bread, or of navy beans and bread. In some places, fresh vegetables and fruit never appear on the table at all.

2. Turkish Orphanages

The Turkish orphanages are eight in number. With the exception of Himayé-i-Etfal, which is run by the Society for the Care of Children, their main support comes from the Turkish Government. They are conducted on a uniform plan devised by the Directorate-General, who from his office in Ortakeuy exercises a vigilant supervision over them. His system finds its best expression in the Ortakeuy orphanage where 450 boys are housed on the cottage plan, in groups of 45 to 60, each group a self-sufficient unit cared for by a teacher and a house-mother.

Some of these orphanages have advantage over others. The girls' orphanage of Validé Bagh, for instance, on its hilltop near Scutari, is better situated than the one at Chaghlayan which is on low ground near the Sweet Waters of Europe. The Balmoumji orphanage has a scant water supply, which makes a serious problem of the proper sanitation of the building, while the Dar Shefaka orphanage in Stamboul has the advantage of the city water supply and of excellent sanitary arrangements.

There are, however, so many features common to all

seven of the orphanages, that we may consider one as typical of the group.

a. Bebek Orphanage

A palace on the European shore of the Bosphorus, formerly the residence of a wealthy Egyptian, now shelters 500 boys brought from various parts of Turkey. A railed-in courtyard near the water's edge, and a beautiful park extending up the hillside, are their playgrounds, much used both winter and summer.

Our visit begins with a call on the director, whose office on the second floor commands a beautiful view of the Bosphorus. He is not, as at Chaghlayan and Validé Bagh, a married man with children (and a home of his own), but, like the others, he lives in the building and knows his boys. He introduces us to two of the teachers, young Turkish men who are much in earnest about their work, and together we make a tour of the institution. We visit first some of the classrooms, where 30 or 40 boys are seated at their desks. The rooms are well lighted. We are shown the teachers' cozy sitting room and the boys' large recreation halls at the foot of the palatial staircases, then we ascend to the vast dormitories.

With ceilings easily 25 feet high, the two largest of these dormitories accommodate with no crowding, and with ample ventilation, 150 beds each. At least one teacher sleeps in each dormitory. His bed is in the corner and may be screened from view at night. The younger boys sleep in smaller dormitories under the supervision of a housemother. Their beds are good, and the bedding looks clean and warm. One of the "mothers," a quiet Turkish woman with a veil tied round her head, goes to the corner and opens the cupboards where the reserve of clothing and linen is kept in perfect order. The boys are provided with well-knit underwear, woolen stockings, suits of a light buff, warm

material, and caps and capes to match. Their shoes are coarse, but substantial.

Our guides take us from the dormitories to a room where some of the "mothers" sleep; to the Turkish bath where every two weeks each boy has his turn; and to the work-room where a shift of two dozen boys is making clothing by machine.

On the third floor, where the ceilings are much lower and the rooms are smaller, we find the infirmary. It is well-heated but bare. Luckily only half a dozen children are on the sick-list. A pathetic little group of three sits on the floor close to the stove. They are not ill; they are the latest arrivals, and they have been brought to the infirmary to recover from their dazed and bewildered condition.

The care given to the children's health is one of the interesting features of the orphanage. Each teacher is responsible for the health of the 50 boys in his care. He looks them over every day. If any physical defect appears, such as scabies, or eye trouble, or a surface scratch or wound, he sends the boy to the doctor, and on his board of records—posted in the hall—places a mark of a certain color opposite the boy's name. The system of colors is such that a glance at the board gives one a complete record for the month. If prolonged treatment or isolation is necessary, the child is sent to the Haidar Pasha hospital. The teacher is expected also to watch the child's intellectual and spiritual development, and give a report on it at the end of the year.

After the infirmary we visit the dining rooms which seat 75 or 100 boys each; the kitchen where great cauldrons of beans cooked with onions are being prepared for the evening meal; and then we go to the playground where two classes are having their recreation hour. With a touch of pride, one of the teachers calls on the boys to play a ball game recently taught them by a Y. M. C. A. Secretary.

Both the girls' and the boys' orphanages have taken up American games with enthusiasm. In April a public field meet was held, at which very creditable demonstrations were given of gymnastics, games, dances, and various acrobatic feats. Both girls and boys took part.

Unfortunately the straitened condition of Turkish finances is telling sadly on the orphanages. The diet is deteriorating, salaries are not paid, and worn-out equipment is not renewed.

3. Greek Orphanages

Three of the four Greek orphanages enjoy particularly beautiful locations in the suburbs. The girls on the Island of Halki not only have a view of the sea and invigorating air, but they are fortunate in having a building that was built for a school and is well adapted for the purpose. Special attention is given to the dressmaking department, which has good teachers and a good equipment.

The situation of the Prinkipo orphanage, on the summit of the island in the midst of pine forests, is a healthful one also. But the orphanage is greatly handicapped by its lack of water. Trachoma and other contagious diseases have been rather prevalent. The trachoma cases are cared for on the top floor, but the building is not well adapted for such an arrangement. There is a hospital for other diseases, but lacking equipment.

The boys' recreation consists of various outdoor games, and folk dancing. They are well trained in carpentering, shoemaking, and tailoring, the carpentry shop being practically self-supporting. A few boys have finished the industrial course and have taken jobs. This is the second largest orphanage in the district.

The Pendik orphanage is much smaller, having 190 boys and 110 girls. It is near a pine grove and has facilities for sea bathing. The cleanliness of the building and the care given the children come up to a high standard.

The fourth of the Greek orphanages is in the city at Ayaz Pasha. Here are gathered 210 little girls suffering from trachoma. A passer-by going up the Dolma Bagche hill may see them at play on a knoll overlooking the Bosphorus. The fear of contagion keeps away many visitors. The Y. W. C. A. Secretary comes once a week to teach them games, and once a month, perhaps, a Greek girl who has overcome the dread of contagion, teaches them a new dance or a Greek song. But on the whole, the children have little contact with the world outside and little to do. Their eye condition makes regular study impossible.

A visitor who was present when the eye specialist was at work, gives the following account:

"The chief event of the day is the treatment of the eyes. The four assistant nurses are treated first, and after they have recovered their equanimity they assist the doctor by getting the children into line, handing her instruments, and leading away some of the little tots who are half-blinded by the medicine. The children are little stoics, stepping up without a whimper for a treatment that is by no means pleasant."

The Greek Central Committee, assisted a little by the Near East Relief, supports all these orphanages. It is short of funds, as are the other orphanage committees, and the inadequate equipment and monotonous diet that one meets with in some of the orphanages are not to be greatly wondered at.

II. Jewish and Russian Orphanges

1. Jewish Orphanages

All these orphanages have both boys and girls. The ages of the girls range from seven to sixteen, while the boys are all under twelve years of age.

There is no equipment for recreational activities and no organized physical program in these institutions. The value of recreation has not been realized by the teachers, possibly because they are women, and few women in this city have recognized the play spirit in the children. After showing the teachers the value of this kind of work, they were anxious to begin some form of recreational activity.

The two Israelite orphanages have gardens where the children play their own little games of marbles, catch, blindman's buff, rope skipping, etc., and seem to be happy in spite of their secluded life. The École de Bonheur, the orphanage for young beggars of Greek as well as of Jewish nationality, is utterly unsuited for the children, as there is no place indoors or outdoors where the children can run about and play.

One cannot criticize these institutions harshly, because the desire to obtain a place to shelter the children has been the prime endeavor, and recreational activities must be a secondary consideration.

2. Russian Orphanages

Two Russian orphanages have been started for the children of the Russian refugees in the city. One has been organized by the Russian Union of Towns in Beshiktash, and has 150 children. The other is called the "American Friends to Russian Children Orphanage," which is under American supervision and supported largely by American money. They have 110 children between the ages of two weeks and eleven years.

Both orphanages have playrooms and gardens for the children. There is little of active supervised work in the Russian Orphanage. The American Orphanage has special Russian play leaders for the children. One man, who is a Scoutmaster, devotes his entire time to the organization of the games during the scheduled play periods.

III. Recreational Aspect of Orphanages

1. Armenian Orphanages

In the Armenian orphanages the girls have no recreational equipment except a few balls and skipping ropes, which they have obtained from friends. The boys have a great variety of equipment. Nearly every orphanage has one or more footballs, and the majority of the institutions have Boy Scout troops, who have their scouting equipment and participate in scouting activities. Kouleli Orphanage, which is the largest, has a full equipment for every type of recreational activity.

Of the 25 orphanages, about half have no indoor play spaces but the small classrooms; 4 have playrooms; 5 have large halls; and 2 have small halls. Only one institution has no play space outdoors; 7 have small yards, 13 have large yards; one has an athletic field nearby; and one has a large athletic field on its grounds. Kouleli, which has this athletic field, owes it and its program of work to the efforts of the physical director of the orphanage. He has had the boys prepare the field.

Eight of the girls' orphanages and five of the boys' orphanages have compulsory physical and recreational work. The type of work varies, depending upon the leaders and where they have received their training, and upon the ages of the children. Some have Swedish Drill, others more of the Sokol work; some have calisthenics and games, while others include folk dancing in the program. The number of periods a week and the length of the periods, vary from fifteen minutes to an hour a day up to two periods of an hour each per week.

It is interesting to note that all the physical teachers in the girls' orphanages which require compulsory recreational work have received their training in the Y. W. C. A. Train-

ing Class. The majority of the older girls are in the Armenian Trade School where they are learning domestic science. Their spare time activities are walking, dancing, and singing. The younger girls skip rope, play catch, dance, and sing. The Armenian girls have many national dances which they love to dance.

Of the five boys' orphanages which send leaders to the Y. M. C. A. Training Class, only two require compulsory work. One boys' orphanage is trained each day by Armenian Boy Scout leaders who visit the orphanage. The voluntary activities of the large boys are football, athletics, and basket-ball, while the small boys enjoy playing catchers, marbles, hide and seek, etc.

It has been said by a certain writer, that God gave the natural ability to sing to only three races, the Italian, the American Negro, and the Armenian. It is certainly true that the Armenians have this natural ability, for all orphanage children love to sing and can be heard singing their songs at all times.

The physical and recreational work is enjoyed by the children, and the majority of the orphanage leaders see the importance of the work. What is needed is definite instruction from the Central Committee, as to the type of work, the number of periods, and the methods of training leaders.

2. Turkish Orphanages

There are 7 orphanages under the direction of the Turkish Government, 5 being for boys and 2 for girls, and one orphanage containing both girls and boys under the direction of the Children's Home Association. There are 2798 boys and girls in both the government and the civil institutions. The ages of the children in the government orphanages range from four to sixteen, while in the Children's Home they are taken in infancy.

Essayan Armenian Orphanage Band

All of the Turkish orphanages are located in large roomy buildings which afford the children ample space for their school, dormitory, and playrooms. Most of them are located in the old palaces of former Sultans.

The organization is efficient and each boy is examined physically and mentally, and a record is kept of his progress along these lines. This is copied from the German system. Each teacher is responsible for about 70 boys and he is their father in all phases of their life. He teaches them in school, supervises their play, and gives them advice as to their future vocation.

Physical training has always been a part of the Turkish orphanage work, but it was the old military system and the work was not enjoyed by the children. After a demonstration of the American method of physical training for children, with the "play for all" program, the director asked the Y. M. C. A. to reorganize the physical and recreational program. The Y. M. C. A. commenced the work in April, 1920, but it was not until the autumn of 1920 that the program was put on a sound basis.

The method of organization decided upon was to have one meeting each week at a central orphanage, and have all the teachers come prepared to learn a "one week" program of work. This plan has been followed, with an average attendance of thirty teachers at these classes; and the teachers not attending were taught by other teachers. All were held responsible for the teaching of this program.

The programs were printed in Turkish and contained Free Hand Drills, Wand Drills, Indoor and Outdoor Games, Health Talks, Rules of Volley Ball, Basket Ball, Track and Field Activities. This method proved to be a great success. The boys in the orphanages enjoyed the work and the demonstrations that have been given have been a surprise to everyone.

The boys are given a drill each morning by their teachers,

and games are played on the playground during the play period and supervised by the teachers. The boys have lost the solemn look of former days and have become experts at playing American games. They count as they are doing their exercises and some whistle and sing. The play life has been accepted by all, and the director has stood by the new system of "play for all," against those who said it would destroy the discipline of the institutions.

A great field day is being planned for, and every boy in the orphanages will take part in the mass calisthenics, the games, and the athletic work, accompanied by the orphanage band.

The physical work in the two girls' orphanages is based on the same general plan. The physical and recreational work has been organized by the Y. W. C. A., and the programs are similar to those of the boys' orphanages. The Physical Director of the Y. W. C. A. visits the orphanages each week and instructs the teachers and demonstrates the work with the children. The girls are not as responsive as the boys and it is much harder to instill the free play spirit.

The Children's Association Orphanage is in great need, as support depends on contributions from the people. The Y. M. C. A. supervises the recreational work of this institution through its Orphanage Training Class.

The recreational work of the Turkish orphanages, as a whole, is well managed. Morning exercises, school work, and supervised play periods after school, leave nothing more to be desired. The play periods are the one bright spot in the lives of these children. The Y. M. C. A. summer camp for orphans, where the weak and sickly were given a month's outing, is still talked of by many.

The Director of the orphanages said, "Since the 'play for all' program has been started the boys are calling all day for 'beans, beans,' and the cost of feeding the boys has increased."

Following is a list of the orphanages and some facts concerning each:

Balmoumji is located in what was formerly a government building. It has an excellent situation with large fields around, on which the children play and farm a little. There are 306 children, whose ages range from 4 to 16 years.

Beikos is located in the Old Naval School and by the side of one of the finest picnic grounds in the city. This institution has about 200 boys whose ages range from 8 to 17 years. It also has a boys' band which plays both Turkish and European music. The boys do their physical exercises with the band.

Imbrahor is in the valley of the Sweet Waters of Europe, in a building formerly belonging to the Sultan. Large fields and woods surround the building and the boys have level fields on which to play their games. There are 237 boys between the ages of 7 and 16 years in this orphanage.

Bebek Orphanage is situated on the Bosphorus in a building which formerly belonged to a prince. Large salons make ideal indoor play spaces, and the two large enclosed gardens afford ample play space outdoors. There are about 500 boys from 6 to 14 years of age in this institution.

Ortakeuy Orphanage is situated on a hill overlooking the Bosphorus, and it also has a building and playground on the shore. The boys have leveled off a place and made a playground on the hill. There are about 450 boys between the ages of 7 and 14 in this institution.

Validé Bagh Girls' Orphanage is located on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, in a beautiful spot with ample play space outdoors for reaction. There are 250 girls, between the ages of 5 and 16 years, in this orphanage.

Chaghlayan Girls' Orphanage is located in the valley of the Sweet Waters of Europe close to the Imbrahor Boys' Orphanage, and has the same facilities for outdoor recrea-

tion. This building was a former Sultan's palace and has tremendous salons which are used for indoor play spaces. There are 510 girls and 132 small boys in this institution.

Himayé-i-Etfal Orphanage is situated in the center of the burnt area of Pera. There is no large play space either indoors or out. There are several open places surrounding the building where the children play.

3. Greek Orphanages

The Prinkipo Boys' Orphanage has 733 boys between the ages of 5 and 14 years. They have great rooms which are used as play spaces indoors, while there is unlimited space outdoors for play. There is no compulsory physical work which is led by a play leader, but there are two periods a day given the children for recreation. During these periods the children play football, catch, marbles, etc. They have a beautiful location and ample grounds to play upon.

The orphanage at Halki has 305 girls, who live in a large building which overlooks the sea. There is little of supervised recreational work. The children play their own games and do their own little dances together.

Asylon Asteghon Orphanage near Dolma Baghtche is a hospital for the Greek orphanage children. The children in this institution suffer chiefly from trachoma, which makes it impossible for them to do anything but play. The Y. W. C. A. Physical Director visits this place and teaches the children drills and dances. There is also a young Greek girl who comes and supervises many of the play periods. The children are very graceful in dancing and seem to enjoy this type of recreation very much.

The 300 children at Pendik are located in a building near the sea. There is no compulsory physical work. The children play their games in the grove nearby and in summer enjoy the bathing in the sea.

III. Educational Aspect of Orphanages

A report made at this particular time on the educational work done in the orphanages in Constantinople can have but moderate and temporary value. The political situation to-day is an exceptional one, and the measures taken for the education of thousands of Turkish, Armenian, and Greek orphans are, of necessity, likewise exceptional in character; they are adapted to meet an emergency that arose suddenly, and which is, in many of its aspects, only a passing phase. The need for the education of this army of homeless waifs will not cease for many years to come, but, as the political conditions become regularized and relatively stable, the distribution of the orphanages and their inmates, and the organization, methods, and personnel employed will undoubtedly undergo substantial adjustments and even complete changes. Thus the conditions and needs revealed by this report are those of 1921; they may be quite different two or three years hence.

1. Main Features Common to the Orphanages of All Nationalities

The chief impression made upon the sympathetic visitor to the orphanage schools, is that much good work is being done in spite of the emergency nature of the organizations, their limited means, and countless other difficulties they have had to meet and overcome. In three important respects especially, do the schools fall short of what could be legitimately expected of such institutions working under more favorable conditions: i.e., weak personnel and inefficient teaching, lack of very necessary equipment, and the insufficient emphasis placed upon training for home and shop industries.

2. Personnel

a. Degree of Efficiency

Though, in general, it cannot be said that the personnel is of a sufficiently high standard, it should be understood at the outset that there is no lack of zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the individual teachers. Almost without exception the directors of the orphanages are men of considerable ability, and give the impression of taking their responsibilities very seriously indeed. The defects in regard to the personnel can be traced to the difficulty of securing an adequate number of capable teachers, self-sacrificing enough to labor for a meager wage under conditions that would be trying to the most devoted and unselfish of workers.

To speak frankly, many of the teachers are manifestly inefficient; their personal appearance is far from prepossessing, and their teaching unintelligent and depressingly mechanical. On the other hand, some give quite the opposite impression; they are neat in appearance, alert, and animated by genuine zeal to impart knowledge effectively. Their industry and efficiency were apparent in the intelligent interest and enthusiasm displayed by their orphan pupils. These gratifying results were especially noticeable, in both Turkish and Armenian orphanages, in certain classes in music, physical training, and household arts; the sad and stolid faces of many of the children seemed transformed by the joy and pride of true accomplishment. The preparation demanded of the teachers is much the same as that of the teachers in the regular schools. (See Chap. XI "Native Schools").

b. Inadequate Number of Teachers

Furthermore, the teachers, whether good or bad, are too few, and the classes far too large. This fact in itself

makes thorough teaching almost impossible. Seldom does one find a class with fewer than forty pupils, and in the greater number of schools the average size of a class is even above this figure. To mention an extreme instance, the Greek orphanage at Prinkipo has a staff of only ten teachers for seven hundred and thirty-three orphans.

c. Supervision

In the larger orphanages there is, in almost every case, a director and an assistant director. Just how much time they give to the supervision of the teaching, it is hard to determine. Three of the institutions visited had an assistant director, whose special concern it was to visit classes and to advise the teachers concerning their methods. In the other places the supervision did not seem to be systematized. Invariably the clerical staffs seem very small, and, in all probability, the directors have little time for the regular visiting of the classes. The central organizations of both the Armenians and Turks have an inspector of orphanage schools, whose duty it is to supervise and coördinate the work as a whole.

d. Salaries

The principles determining the salary scale for orphanage teachers are practically the same as those followed out for the teaching of the regular national schools. (See Chap. XI "Native Schools.")

3. Equipment

The inadequacy of equipment in most orphanages is only too obvious; in fact it is pitiful when one considers the manifold needs of any large group of children, for whom the attempt is made to provide even the most rudimentary training. On the whole, the Turkish orphanages are better

provided for than the Armenian, but the superiority is so slight that the difference in results is quite negligible.

a. Buildings

The orphans are housed, for the most part, in large residences of the rich—pashas, princes, and the like—or in public buildings such as hospitals and barracks. Not one is an ideal orphanage, and almost all are unadapted and unadaptable to the purpose. Generally the buildings are as clean and as well-kept as the circumstances permit—the Turkish orphanages notably so. The most manifest defect is in the poor adjustment of heat and ventilation; one is invariably sacrificed in the effort to attain the other, and the effort seems in no case a successful one. Stoves and braziers are used, but never in sufficient number.

The classrooms and dormitories generally receive sufficient sunlight, but the artificial light is always inadequate, as both electricity and petroleum are far too expensive. In winter sufficient ventilation is impossible without making the rooms too cold. The dormitories are invariably overcrowded, the number of beds ranging from 50 to 250, and it is quite improbable that there is sufficient fresh air circulating at night. Quite naturally the cloakrooms, bathrooms, and toilets are inadequate, as few of the buildings were constructed for the purpose of housing hundreds of children.

b. Playgrounds

The playgrounds are often far too small and unsuitable for organized recreation. A few are spacious and well situated. For instance, the Armenian Central Orphanage at Kouleli (Tchengelkeuy) where there are 1000 orphans, has an excellent playground, the institution having been a Turkish military school; the Turkish Girls' Orphanage at Scutari is likewise very well off in this respect. There is a

certain amount of organized and supervised recreation in all the orphanages, but in general they are woefully deficient in this particular. It is lack of teachers and equipment again which is the cause; the directors seem to be alive to the great need of physical education. Both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are doing much to meet this need by training leaders and awakening interest in it.

c. Classrooms

The rooms are usually too small for the number of students composing the classes. The desks are, as a rule, crude, uncomfortable, and are invariably overcrowded. Of good blackboards, maps, and charts there is almost a complete lack. Again, the Turkish schools are slightly more fortunate in this, as in other respects.

d. Textbooks

The microscopic sum of between one and one and a half liras ($.80 and $1.20) per month spent on the education of an orphan, is insufficient to supply each child with the number of books needed. The best that can be done is one paper-bound copy for each two or three students. The work of instruction is handicapped also by the small quantity and poor quality of paper, pencils, pens, ink, etc.

e. Libraries

Now and then one finds that an attempt has been made to gather books for recreational reading. The results are pathetic considering the need. In no place are there more than two or three shelves of books or magazines. There could be no better or more useful gift than a few well chosen vernacular books presented to one or more orphanages.

4. The Courses of Study

There is much that can be said relative to the nature of the subjects taught, and there is much that one would like to see changed in the content and distribution of the courses to adapt them to the peculiar needs of orphan children. The narrow limits assigned to this report will not, however, allow of any detailed discussion. The course of study in practically all the orphanages is identical with that of the regular primary schools, and covers a period of six years. In many cases a year or two of so-called kindgergarten work is added for children under six, and often special groups are formed in order to prepare orphans who are advanced in years, but who have been deprived of schooling during the war, and cannot enter the class which corresponds to their age. In all details of the program of studies, such as the actual subjects taught, the calendar, number and length of the recitations, the system of marking, religious instruction, etc., it must suffice to refer the reader to the explanation given in Chapter XI "Native Schools." There are differences, to be sure, in the details of the work of the regular and of the orphanage schools, but they can be discussed only in a report broader in scope than this one.

a. Provision Made for Orphans Completing the Primary School Course

The ages of the orphans in the primary schools range from 5 to 18, the majority being between 10 and 14 years of age. The question of the care of the orphans after completion of the primary school course is an important one, but it is not so pressing at the moment as it will be in a year or two. The upper classes are small and the graduates relatively few at present. So far a small proportion of the more promising graduates have been sent to secondary schools at the expense of the Turkish Government, the Armenian National Relief, or of some foreign agency.

A serious attempt is made to find husbands for girls of marriageable age, and perhaps half of those who have thus far finished, or nearly finished, the primary course, have been married off. Several Armenian girls have been sent to prospective husbands of the same nationality in America, and Armenian men have come from there to Constantinople to secure brides from the orphaned of their nation. For the larger proportion of graduates, however, some trade or occupation must be found, and this raises the question of industrial training, which is a feature of the orphanage work that needs much expansion and improvement.

b. Industrial Training

The greatest need of all the orphanage organizations is the constitution of a definite program of industrial training for both home and shop. The problem of making useful citizens of these orphans, and of absorbing them successfully in the body of independent wage-earners as soon as they are old enough to do productive labor, is of vital importance. The instruction all of them now receive in the "three R's" is certainly of incalculable value, and they should continue to have it; but only a very small proportion can be sent to secondary schools, and the primary school, in itself, is only a preparation for this further education. Unless more domestic and manual training can be given, the orphanages will be faced by a grave problem of their own making; there must be a more concrete and practical goal for which these children are prepared.

For instance, the Armenians have only two orphanages with 350 pupils where thorough industrial training is given —this out of a total of 25 orphanages with nearly 3900 orphans. The Turks have three orphanages where the work is largely industrial. They send many of the boys

out to shops and factories for special training, but it is not done on a really comprehensive scale.

This need is, to a certain extent, appreciated by those concerned with the supervision of the orphan work, and much more would be accomplished if money and equipment were available. To teach carpentry, sewing, or any other manual pursuit, a large initial outlay is essential for the purchase of machinery and tools, and the operating expenses would be heavy. Some little time would elapse before the work could be placed on a self-supporting basis; that it could eventually pay for itself is proved by what has already been done on a small scale. It is a great pity that more cannot be done to meet this need. The extent of this deficiency, and the magnitude of the problem, are impressed upon one who visits such large orphanages as the Armenian Central Orphanage at Tchengelkeuy, caring for 1000 boys; and the Turkish orphanages at Bebek and Ortakeuy, with about 500 boys each, where only the most meager manual instruction is given, and where only one instructor teaches this subject in each institution. It should be said, however, that attempts are being made to extend the work in these places, as far as the limited means permit.

5. Education of Orphans in Community Schools

One very important aspect of the education of the orphans is the part played by the community schools in facilitating this work. This is not done on a very large scale because the community schools are already overcrowded and the teachers overworked. As is natural, the secondary schools provide education for more orphans than do the primary. The number of orphans thus cared for is indicated on the page of statistics on orphanage schools at the end of this section.

V. Orphanage Statistics

1. *Armenian Orphanages*

V. Orphanage Statistics

1. *Armenian Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	Neutral Home	3 to 20	Shishli
2.	Red Cross Home (For Mothers and Babies)	45	Beshiktash
3.	Kindergarten Orphanage	155	"
4.	" "	70	Kouroutcheshme
5.	Refugee Home (Red Cross)	40	Scutari
6.	Arnaoutkeuy Girls' Orphanage	90	Arnaoutkeuy
7.	Armenian Orphanage (Girls)	100	Balat
8.	Girls' Orphanage	170	Ortakeuy
9.	Armenian Orphanage (Girls)	100	Koum Kapou
10.	Scutari Orphanage (Girls)	105	Scutari
11.	Kadikeuy Orphanage (Girls)	250	Kadikeuy
12.	Girls' Orphanage	60	Makrikeuy
13.	St. Ann Orphanage (Girls)	150	Pera
14.	St. Ann Orphanage (Girls)	150	Psamatia
15.	St. George Orphanage	55	Galata
16.	Kalfayan Orphanage (Girls)	66	Haskeuy
17.	Boyadjian School (Boys)	45	Makrikeuy
18.	Essayan Orphanage (Boys)	86	
19.	Arnaoutkeuy Boys' Orphanage	90	Arnaoutkeuy
20.	Narli Kapou Orphanage	150	Narli Kapou
21.	Karageuzian Orphanage (Boys)	120	Shishli
22.	Armenian Central Orphanage (Boys)	1000	Tchengelkeuy
23.	Beyler Bey Industrial School (Boys)	247	Beyler Bey
24.	Trachoma Orphanage (Girls)	133	Haskeuy
25.	Yedi Koulé Trachoma Orphanage (Boys and Girls)	330	Yedi Koulé
		3827	

2. *Turkish Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	Dar-Shefaka Orphanage (Boys)	250	Fatih
2.	Ortakeuy Orphanage (Boys)	450	Ortakeuy
3.	Chaghlayan Orphanage (Girls)	642	Chaghlayan
4.	Bebek Orphanage (Boys)	500	Bebek
5.	Validé Bagh Orphanage (Girls)	250	Scutari
6.	Balmoumji Orphanage (Boys)	306	Yildiz
7.	Beikos Orphanage (Boys)	200	Beikos
8.	Himayé-i-Etfal (Boys and Girls)	200	Pera
		2798	

3. *Greek Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	National Greek Home for Girls.....	305	Halki
2.	Trachoma Orphanage	210	Ayaz Pasha
3.	National Greek Home for Boys	733	Prinkipo
4.	National Greek Home for Children ...	300	Pendik
		1548	

4. *Catholic Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	Catholic Home (French Sisters)..18	Armenian	Makrikeuy
2.	Orphelinat des Filles de la Charité	55 Abandoned children	Bebek
3.	Hôpital de la Paix.....68		Shishli
4.	Italian Orphanage 30		Pera
		171	

5. *Russian Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	Russian Orphanage	150	Galata
2.	American Friends to Russian Children...	110	Kabatash
3.	Russian Children in Kalfayan Armenian Orphanage	20	Galata
		280	

6. *Jewish Orphanages*

	Name	*Number of Children*	*Location*
1.	École de Bonheur (Boys and Girls)	69	
2.	Israelite Orphanage (Girls).....	100	Haskeuy
3.	Orphelinat Israélite (Boys and Girls)...	110	Ortakeuy
		279	

7. *Statistics on Orphanage Schools*

	Turkish	*Armenian*
1. Number of orphanage schools..	8	15
2. Orphans educated in orphanages	3000	3000
3. Community and other primary schools receiving orphans....	....	13

	Turkish	*Armenian*
4. Orphans educated in primary schools outside orphanages...	....	900
5. Total number of teachers teaching in orphanages.....	93	75
6. Number of orphans per teacher (including director)	33	40
7. Rate of pay per teacher (food, lodging included)	Ltq. 30-40 ($24-$32)	Ltq. 25-50 ($20-$40)
8. Orphanages giving thorough industrial training	3	2
9. Amount allotted per orphan per month, for educational work purely, by central organization	Ltq. 1.50 ($1.20)	Ltq. 1.25 ($1.00)

NOTE.—These statistics are given in round numbers and are only roughly accurate. The numbers of orphans and teachers of course vary from week to week.

VIII

RECREATION

G. GILBERT DEAVER

OUTLINE

I. Commercial Amusements
   1. Coffee Houses
   2. Beerhalls and Saloons
   3. Pool and Billiard Rooms
   4. Cinemas

II. Municipal and Educational Recreation Facilities
   1. Public Parks, Squares, and Playgrounds
   2. Recreation in the Schools

III. Private Agencies
   1. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides
   2. Independent Athletic Clubs
   3. Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A. Activities

Note: Recreation for Armies

I. Commercial Amusements

1. Coffee Houses

The chief place of recreation for men of all nations and all creeds in Turkey is the coffee house. It is a unique institution, consisting usually of one large room with hard benches on three sides of it, small tables and chairs set about in its center, and a partitioned corner where the coffee seller (*kafedji*) prepares his beverages. It may be very prosperous, its benches upholstered in red plush, and it may be exceedingly humble, with unpainted tables and bare walls and floors. At a café may be had Turkish coffee, sherbet—a drink made from the juice of fruit—lemonade, *narghilés,* the water pipe of the Orient, and Turkish delight. At Greek and Armenian coffee houses the list of edibles is longer and spirituous liquors are added. Here men gather at all hours of the day, but in the largest numbers towards evening, to smoke, to talk, to drink coffee, to play backgammon or card games, and to listen to newspapers being read by the more learned among them. Owing to the phlegmatic character of the inhabitants of the Near East, these sedentary pleasures are enjoyed more than any other and are practically universal.

Coffee houses are situated in nearly every street of the city. They are run by Turks, Albanians, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. In Stamboul the old-fashioned Turkish coffee houses near mosques, and those in connection with humble hotels or *hans,* predominate. Each Bosphorus village has its several coffee houses where the boatmen, fishermen, *hamals* (porters). and small tradesmen of the place congregate. The differences are usually only in degree of prosperity and according to the class of patrons, with more

liveliness, music, wines and other spirituous liquors among the Christian establishments, and more quietness and passive enjoyment among the Turks. In remote hamlets on the outskirts of the town in all directions, the traveler is sure to find a coffee house, if there are no more than a few houses clustered together.

The coffee houses are the social centers for all the men of the town or village. In connection with some are small restaurants, with others barbers' establishments. Many of the places are dirty, poorly lighted, and badly ventilated, especially in winter. During the warm months the chairs and tables are moved to the sidewalks and gardens and the question of light, heat, and ventilation is eliminated.

Coffee houses may be roughly classified as follows:

a. The hotel or *han* coffee house corresponds to a hotel dining room in a western country, but serves no regular meals.

b. Coffee houses near mosques are mostly patronized by Turks, and are very numerous in Stamboul and along the Golden Horn.

c. General and independent coffee houses are usually given the name *Kraathané,* a place to read.

d. District coffee houses are called *Mahallé* coffee houses. They often serve as local information bureaus.

e. Workmen's coffee houses are for the humbler classes, firemen, small merchants, etc. In these the head of the coffee house often acts as banker for those whose homes are in the provinces.

f. Restaurant coffee houses.

g. Village coffee houses are quite modest establishments in rural districts.

It is impossible to estimate the number of coffee houses of different types in Constantinople, but certainly there are several thousand. To a very great number of men, there is no other recreation possible but that of spending a few hours a day in a coffee house.

2. *Beerhalls and Saloons*

Saloons may be classified in Turkey either as beerhalls, places where a specialty is made of serving beer, and other liquors as well; or as cafés where food and liquors are both sold. In every district in the city there are beerhalls. Most of them are rather disreputable places, where there is low dancing and where prostitutes solicit trade. These are found in the largest numbers in Galata and Pera. Beerhalls in Stamboul and in the Bosphorus villages are cleaner and of a better type. These often possess orchestras and are frequented by respectable people. All nationalities own beerhalls, the Greeks, however, being greatly in the majority. The following table gives an analyzed list of saloons, which have been surveyed, and most of which have licenses to sell liquor, but many places were discovered selling liquor which were not listed as licensed by the reports of the Police Headquarters in Stamboul.

CLASSIFICATION OF NATIONALITIES

Nationality	*Restaurants*	*Cafés*	*Beerhalls*	*Wholesale*	*Total*
English	1	..	..	2	3
Greek	171	26	444	528	1169
Russian	30	3	3	8	44
French	..	..	2	3	5
Italian	..	..	..	3	3
Czecho-Slovak	2	..	..	..	2
German	2	..	..	..	2
Armenian	13	1	15	28	57
Turk	35	..	4	58	97
Persian	..	..	..	4	4
Jew	..	..	1	16	17
Polish	1	..	..	..	1
Arab	..	..	..	1	1
Maltese	..	..	..	1	1
Kurd	1	..	1	..	2
Bulgarian	1	1	..	..	2
Albanian	..	..	..	1	1
Serbian	..	..	1	1	2
	257	31	471	654	1413

There are also 186 public houses to be added to the total.

Grand Total—1599.

3. Pool and Billiard Rooms

There is no place in the city which has pool and billiards as the only source of revenue. There are several places where tables may be found, but they are secondary attractions. These places are, The Constantinople Club, The Y. M. C. A., the Cercle d'Orient, numerous sporting clubs and many coffee houses. Pool and billiards are not very important recreations for the Oriental. This is quite evident when one sees the type of people who play, and the condition of the tables. There is little gambling.

4. Cinemas (Motion Pictures)

In May, 1921, there were approximately 32 permanent and 12 temporary motion picture theaters in Constantinople. These theaters have multiplied rapidly of late years and their owners are often foreigners. Neither they nor native proprietors have any knowledge or interest in motion pictures except in exchanging films and making money. According to Western standards, cinema theaters are poorly built, but they are improving. A list of 26 theaters follows, showing location, seating capacity and class.

List of Motion Picture Theaters

	Name	*Location*	*Seating capacity*	*Classification*
1.	Magic	Pera	1005	1st class
2.	Etoile	"	541	1st class
3.	Cosmograph	"	900	2nd class
4.	Russo-American	"	342	2nd class
5.	Luxemburg	"	460	1st class
6.	Ciné Palace	"	482	1st class
7.	Eclair	"	452	1st class
8.	Central	"	350	2nd class
9.	Cinema Orientaux	"	466	2nd class
10.	Ciné Amphi	"	1030	1st class
11.	Pangalti	"	450	2nd class
12.	Cinema Variété	"	752	2nd class
13.	Majestic	"	200	3rd class

	Name	Location	Seating capacity	Classification
14.	Cinema Ali Effendi	Stamboul	280	2nd class
15.	Cinema Kemal Bey	"	338	2nd class
16.	Alemdar	"	500	1st class
17.	Cinema Milli	"	500	1st class
18.	Military Museum	"	300	1st class
19.	Cinema Ertogroul	"	500	1st class
20.	Shark Cinemasi	"	500	1st class
21.	Cinema Koum Kapou	"	300	2nd class
22.	Cinema Taxim	"	300	2nd class
23.	Cinema Appollon	Scutari	400	1st class
24.	Taxim Garden	Pera	400	2nd class
25.	Cinema Tepé	Scutari	1000	2nd class
26.	Layla Baghtchesi	Stamboul	....	2nd class

Undoubtedly an increasing number of people frequent cinema shows. The films shown are French, Italian, German, and American. On the whole they are cheap and sensational. Very occasionally there appears a good film. The comedies are invariably coarse. There is no censorship of films except political and military. Some of the films are very suggestive and would not be allowed in America or England.

The lighting and heating in the theaters are fairly good in the majority of cases, but the ventilation is nearly always bad.

The cinema industry in Constantinople is improving every year. The most crying needs at present are:

1. Enforcement of existing laws concerning fire control.
2. A board of censors to eliminate immoral scenes from films.
3. The building of better constructed theaters.

II. Municipal and Educational Recreational Facilities

1. Public Parks and Squares

Constantinople in all its length and breadth can boast only four parks. These are: Gül Hané Park in Stamboul,

and Üsküdar Park in Scutari; Sultan Ahmed Square and Fatih Park, both in Stamboul.

Gül Hané Park is in the grounds of the old Seraglio and supplies a place of recreation for many people. It has some fine roads and beautiful gardens. People of all nationalities use it for promenades and the rich drive about the grounds in their carriages. There is a small playground for children, a bandstand, coffee houses, and candy stands.

Üsküdar Park covers about five acres and is used chiefly by Turks. Its grounds are well kept.

Sultan Ahmed Square contains the famous Serpent Column, one of the Egyptian obelisks, and the ex-Kaiser's Fountain. It stands upon the site of the old Hippodrome and covers about two acres of ground. There are trees, grass, and flowers which beautify the place.

Fatih Park has flowers and grass but no trees or benches.

The squares and parks are used for sedate, interminable promenades which people of all nations in the Orient seem to enjoy. Turkish women in Stamboul walk in company with their families in the late afternoon, and indeed all nationalities manifest a simple pleasure in being able to walk and to sit for long periods in the sun or amble slowly along, breathing the evening air.

2. Playgrounds and Play Spaces

Constantinople has no supervised municipal playgrounds, although the Government owns practically all the places which are used by the people as playgrounds. Vacant, unused, open spaces are usually appropriated by the neighboring people for play and recreation.

The city proper which is composed of Pera, Stamboul, and Galata possesses a number of such places. In the rest of the city, Scutari, Kadikeuy, small villages and hamlets along the shores of the Golden Horn, the Marmora and the Bosphorus, the natural playgrounds and picnic grounds are

more numerous and more attractive. Some places are so well-situated and possess so many charms that they are visited by people from all districts. The following are among such places:

San Stefano, which is situated near the ancient city walls, on the Sea of Marmora, is noted for its fine bathing beach, the best along the coast.

The Sweet Waters of Europe is on the Golden Horn and only a short row from the bridge. Here one enjoys the boat ride, the beautiful trees and fields. There is a casino which affords refreshments and music.

Proti, Prinkipo, and Halki are three of the Princes Islands in the Sea of Marmora, about two hours' ride in a steamer from the city. Shady groves for picnics, level fields for football players, and pleasant paths over pine-clad hill and dale make these islands delightful.

a. Pera

There are seven places in Pera which may be called playgrounds. One of these is an athletic field and commercial amusement park combined, one an athletic field, and the other five are play spaces for children and rest places for adults.

The largest and most popular of these fields is *Taxim Field,* which is suitable for all sports. It is about 250 yards long and 200 yards wide. It is almost completely surrounded by commercial amusement places, such as coffee houses, saloons, gambling rooms, side-shows, and cinemas. There are horses, donkeys, bicycles, and motor cycles for hire. The center of the field contains two baseball and two soccer fields. The greatest activity on the field is usually on Sundays.

b. Stamboul

There are three grounds in Stamboul which are used as playgrounds and athletic fields, *Sultan Ahmed Field,* the

Museum Grounds, and the *Hastahané Chaïri* at Fatih. All these grounds have level fields upon which youths play football and other ball games, while more sedate adults walk along the edges or sit on the grass out of reach of the players.

c. Scutari and Haidar Pasha and Kadikeuy

In these districts there are many beautiful spots where young and old spend their time in good weather. There are also several regular playgrounds used definitely for games. The most attractive of these is the *Union Club* of Kadikeuy, which is the best in the city. It has two soccer fields with a half-mile track around them, a clubhouse and a grandstand for spectators. The ground can be used by anyone for practice, and when matches are played the grounds are given without charge, but the club demands 10 piasters ($.08) from each spectator.

d. Bosphorus Play Spaces

On both sides of the Bosphorus, Asiatic and European, there are a great many play spaces where the inhabitants of the villages, as well as city sojourners can enjoy picnics, walks and games. These play spaces are usually situated in the fertile little valleys lying between the Bosphorus hills. Four might be mentioned as being the most popular.

Keikos Field is about two hours' ride by boat from the city on the Asiatic side. It has a football field for those who play, and shade trees by the stream for those who desire rest and quiet. Many clubs have their annual picnics on this spot.

Balta-Liman may be reached by boat or by taking the tram to Bebek on the European side and then walking over the hills. This is a lovely valley with a huge green field used by the Boy Scouts of all nationalities. The surrounding country affords unusual opportunity for scout games.

Beuyükderé possesses a large level field for sports not

far from the edge of the Bosphorus. Horse racing, as known in the west, was started on this field during the reign of Abdul Hamid. The British use these grounds for cricket, polo, and horse-racing. Great crowds of young people visit the place on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays. The American Sailors' Club Camp is located near Beuyükderé.

Kilios, a small village on the Black Sea (European side), is an ideal spot for the camper. There is a sandy beach with level lowlands and hills for the background. This is the site of the Constantinople Y. M. C. A. Summer Camp.

Although there are no organized or supervised playgrounds, the people do not suffer for lack of play spaces. Every organized team can find a field near by on which to play games, and the older folks have numerous places in which to spend their spare time. What is needed is supervised playgrounds for children under capable teachers. This would not only develop the play spirit in the children, but would tend to develop a more friendly spirit among the various nationalities.

2. Recreation in the Schools

In all the schools of Constantinople we find more or less interest in recreational activities. Some of the nationalities have developed a good system of supervised play, but with others the work accomplished in this line is almost negligible. In many schools there is a lack of a good gymnasium and of gymnastic equipment. A definitely outlined program of activities is needed in some schools. Specially trained physical directors giving their whole and undivided attention to one particular school are lacking in the majority of schools. Recreational work is taught either by a director who serves three to five schools, or by one of the regular teachers, whose time for play is necessarily circumscribed, and whose knowledge of physical training is limited.

FACTS CONCERNING RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS

Nationality of schools	*Places for recreational activity*	*Nature of physical work*	*Physical training program*
Turkish	Few have indoor play spaces; majority have outdoor play spaces.	Swedish drill, calisthenics, football, volley ball, basket ball.	Few have compulsory program.
Greek	Outdoor and indoor play spaces; some are too small.	Swedish drill, dances, apparatus, games.	Compulsory program.
Jewish	Insufficient indoor and outdoor play spaces. There are gymnasiums, but they belong to and are used only by Maccabees.	Drills, games.	Irregular and on the whole unorganized.
Armenian	Few have suitable indoor play spaces; most schools have a playground.	Swedish drill, games, dances.	16 have compulsory program.
Albanian	No indoor play spaces; all but one have an outdoor ground.	Swedish drill, football, games.	Some have a compulsory program.
American	Two gymnasiums; all have outdoor playgrounds.	Basket ball, baseball, soccer, track, hockey.	Compulsory program.
Bulgarian	No indoor play spaces; small outdoor playgrounds.	Games.	Negative.
Circassian	Hall is used as gymnasium; field is used as playground.	Apparatus.	Compulsory program.
English	1 regular gymnasium; two use rooms as such; three have outdoor playgrounds.	Swedish drill, games, dances, football, cricket, hockey.	Compulsory program.
Persian	No indoor play space; large playground.	Catchers, marbles, blindman's buff.	No compulsory program.
Italian	Two gymnasiums; all have playgrounds.	Swedish drill, apparatus, dances, games, athletics.	Compulsory program.
Russian	No indoor play spaces; all have playgrounds.	Physical drill, games.	3 have compulsory program.
French	Majority have large indoor and outdoor play spaces.	Calisthenics, apparatus, volley ball, cage ball, basket ball, drills.	Compulsory program.

The schools in Constantinople visited to find out recreational activities belong to the following twelve nationalities: Albanian, American, Armenian, Bulgarian, Circassian, English, French, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Persian, Russian, and Turkish.

In general it may be said that those schools which have the largest funds and therefore the best facilities for recreation and play and physical education are not as a rule the native but the foreign schools, i.e., the American, English, French, Italian. The native schools are poor in equipment and teachers, and they put less—though an increasing—emphasis on physical culture.

In addition to the general statements as to recreational facilities in schools, a few remarks may be made with profit on each different set of schools.

a. Albanian

There are only six Albanian schools in this city and they have all been organized since the Armistice. The majority of the schools are located in small buildings, which are unsuitable. There are not more than three grades in any school. Boys and girls are crowded into small classrooms. There is no equipment for recreational purposes; some of the boys have footballs, but only one of the schools has a proper yard where games can be played. There are no indoor facilities for athletics. The compulsory physical work is reported to be "Swedish drill and games two periods a week for each scholar," but it is doubtful if this is a regular part of the program. The teachers are interested in the children and are anxious to better conditions, but funds are exceedingly limited.

b. American

There are three American schools, two of which are classified as colleges and one as a preparatory school. The

two colleges, one for men and one for women, are situated on the outskirts of the town on beautiful hills overlooking the Bosphorus. The American Board School is in Stamboul.

Robert College for men has about 600 students of all nationalities. It has a thorough physical culture program, under the direction of two American physical directors, which requires every student during the first three years to take physical work. There are varsity teams in basket ball, baseball, soccer, and track, besides various class teams. The campus affords ample space for all outdoor games. The gymnasium is large and well equipped. The locker rooms and shower baths are modern and resemble those in America. The college library, Y. M. C. A., Boy Scouts, and clubs provide other forms of recreational activities for the students.

Constantinople College for women has about 465 students of all nationalities, who are required to take physical work two hours each week. A large room in the basement has been set apart, a few pieces of equipment have been made, and the result is called a gymnasium. The place is lower than the level of the ground, and therefore very dark and not suitable for a gymnasium. The outdoor facilities are much better and the campus is large enough for hockey, basket ball, and playground ball. A graduate physical training teacher gives all her time to the promotion of the physical program. The Y. W. C. A., Girl Guides, and numerous social, dramatic, choral, and literary societies afford other recreational activities for the students.

The *American Board School* in Stamboul has about 250 students of all nationalities. It has no indoor play space but the yard is large enough for volley ball and basket ball. Two periods a week of physical work are required of each student and provided by the class teacher. Boys' clubs and Girl Guides afford other forms of recreation.

c. Armenian

There are 37 Armenian schools on the list given by the Armenian Patriarch. Of these 26 were surveyed. There is no specific program of physical education in Armenian schools. The majority of the schools are small and are scattered about the city; many of them are in unsuitable buildings. Only four of the institutions have equipment owned by the school. The boys and girls bring their own toys, footballs, small rubber balls, ropes, etc., which they use at play. Five of the schools have indoor spaces which are available for recreation. The others use classrooms or halls for play in winter or on rainy days. There is no doubt that the directors and teachers are anxious to have physical work for the children, but the expense is heavy. Sixteen out of the 26 require physical training in the form of Swedish drill, games and dancing. In those schools which cannot pay for a director of recreation, the teachers or Armenian Boy Scouts teach the lessons. The whole system in Armenian schools is unsatisfactory as the work is not coördinated and is inadequate. The trouble is largely lack of funds and insufficient knowledge of modern educational methods.

d. Bulgarian

There are three Bulgarian schools. They are coeducational, containing all together 265 girls and 210 boys, ranging in ages from 8 to 17. The recreational work is negative. There is no equipment, no space for indoor activities, and only small yards for outdoor activities. The directors are not opposed to recreational and physical activities, but having no knowledge of these things are unable to instruct their pupils. They have signified their intention of sending leaders to be trained by the Y. M. C. A.

e. Circassian

There is one school of this nationality, a model school for Circassian girls. The recreational activities consist of compulsory physical training two periods a week, under the direction of a former major in the Turkish army, who has received a certificate from the German Physical Training School in Berlin. The work is of the German type, with a greater part of the period spent on the only piece of apparatus they have, the parallel bars. The small hall on the second floor is used as the gymnasium, while a field close by is used as the playground, where the children play their outdoor games.

f. English

There are four English schools, one elementary school for boys, one high school for girls, and one high school for boys, and one mission school. There are about 630 students of all nationalities, between the ages of 4 and 20. Compulsory physical work is required in all the schools. It consists of Swedish drill, games and dances. Three of the schools have trained teachers, who devote their full time to the physical and recreational work. They lead the gymnasium classes, organize the group games, and take the students to the athletic fields for their team games. The English High School for Girls is the only institution which has no outdoor play space near at hand, but it has an excellent gymnasium. All the English schools have the privilege of using football grounds on the outskirts of the city. On certain days in the week the students go to these grounds to play football, cricket, and hockey. The recreational life of the students in the English schools is very well supervised. The students are encouraged to enter sports, and the teachers assist them in every way.

g. French

There are many French schools in Constantinople; the majority are Catholic and are under the supervision of some religious order. The majority of the school buildings have large play spaces indoors and outdoors, and supply athletic equipment for the students. Physical exercises are required and the physical directors are trained men and have a graded program of calisthenics, apparatus work, and games. Volley ball, cage ball, and basket ball are organized in these schools. At St. Joseph and St. Benoit Schools the physical work is of a high order.

h. Greek

There are 93 Greek schools in the lists of the Greek Patriarch. Thirty-eight of these schools were visited and information obtained regarding the physical and recreational work. The schools are of two types, first, high schools located in large school buildings and usually situated in the city; second, small elementary schools, in poor buildings, situated in the country places.

The schools of the first type have, in general, some recreational equipment and compulsory physical training program, which is under the leadership of a trained physical director, usually a man who has received his training in Athens at the Government Training School. The students are required to take, on the average, two periods a week of physical training. This consists of Swedish drill, apparatus work, dances, and games. Some of the finest Swedish movements and dances the writer has ever witnessed were performed by the students of a Greek girls' school in Pera. One of the criticisms one might make of the system is that the physical directors are as a rule only part-time teachers. Hence their work in each school cannot be thorough. In these high schools there is hardly any

facility for outdoor games, as they are so often in overcrowded parts of the city.

In the schools of the second type there is much less attention paid to physical activities. There are no trained physical directors, and the teachers, while they are anxious to do their part, have insufficient knowledge.

This fact was brought to the attention of the Director of the Physical Department of the Young Men's Christian Association, who immediately sent a personal letter to all the directors of the Greek schools, inviting them to attend a physical training class for Greek schoolteachers. Over thirty Greek schools responded to this invitation and this class which met each week in the Y. M. C. A. was most successful. Simple calisthenics, mass games, and folk dances were taught in six lessons.

i. Italian

There are three Italian schools, one under the Government, one under the direction of Catholic Sisters, and the other directed by the Catholic Brothers. This last is closed temporarily, owing to military occupation.

In the primary department of the government school the children have a small courtyard outdoors where they play in good weather and the halls are used for play in winter. There is no regular physical director, but the teacher is supposed to lead his class in physical training twice a week.

In the higher departments of the government school, the physical work is under the direction of a regular gymnastic teacher, who is a graduate of the Normal School of Rome. The students are required to take Swedish drill, apparatus work, dances, games, and athletics two hours a week. There is a gymnasium (60x45 feet) containing apparatus. Outdoors there is a large garden which is used as a playground. Here the younger boys play catcher, marbles,

etc. The older boys have football games, which occupy their play periods.

j. Jewish

There are a number of Jewish schools located in the Jewish quarters of the city. There are several in Galata, with an enrollment of from 300 to 700 each, in large but overcrowded buildings, with insufficient play space indoors and outdoors. One of these, the Goldschmidt School, is an important Galata community center. There is a well-equipped gymnasium on the grounds which the school is not allowed to use, as it is used by the Maccabees of Pera. Every evening there are gymnasium classes for boys and girls of the district. The classrooms are used for meetings, choirs, and clubs, while the Boy Scouts meet in the basement.

In the other large Jewish quarters such as Balat and Haskeuy the schools are located in small buildings and are not properly equipped for recreation. A notable exception is the Haidar Pasha Primary School which has a fine garden and playgrounds near by. All Jewish schools serve also as community centers. On the whole the recreational and physical work of the Jewish schools is of little account.

k. Persian

There is only one known Persian school with 87 students. It has no halls or vacant rooms in the buildings where the children can play, but the large yard at the back provides ample space for outdoor activities. There is no compulsory recreation; the children run about playing catcher, blind-man's buff, marbles, etc., while the desire of all is to kick a football about. The director is anxious to have the children participate in physical work and the Y. M. C. A. has offered its assistance.

l. Russian

Four Russian schools were surveyed, but new schools are continually opened for refugee children. All of these schools are coeducational and have about 528 scholars between six and twenty-two. In regard to recreational equipment, there are only a few footballs which belong to some of the older boys. The schools are handicapped, as they have no place indoors where the children can play. The classrooms are used, but there is little room for children's games. All the schools have gardens of various sizes, where the children can play and have their exercise in good weather.

m. Turkish

The Turkish schools, of which there are a great many in Constantinople ranging from primary to university, do not make a specialty of recreational work. The Department of Public Instruction has issued a Swedish drill book which is supposed to be used in government schools. The lessons as outlined are to be taught by the class teachers; but only those who have attended the normal school are able to reach the program. The result is that lessons are not taught with any system, if at all. It is calculated that not two per cent of the government schools have any recreational program.

In lycées or high schools there are football teams and of recent years the students have played volley ball and basket ball. The majority of schools have large outdoor courts, but little provision for indoor recreation. The compulsory work depends largely on the interest and knowledge of individual teachers. There are a number of schools that have visiting professors of gymnastics. They come to the school for certain hours, do their work and leave. They do not organize teams or athletic sports and seldom know

Football in the Shadow of St. Sophia

Gymnastics in a Turkish Girls' School

any of the boys well. In girls' schools there are a few teachers of gymnastics who have been trained in the normal school.

III. Private Agencies

1. Boy Scouts

There are eight different organizations of Boy Scouts affiliated with the International Boy Scout Council of Constantinople, whose president is Colonel Maxwell of the British Army. The organizations are divided according to nationalities, American, Armenian, English, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Russian, and Turkish. In all, some 3145 boys belong to scout troops. These groups of young boys from ten to twenty years old have, through the Boy Scout movement, a very natural and healthful stimulus to useful recreation. They meet once or twice a week both for business and voluntary play. They indulge in rallies, hikes, and all kinds of recreational activities. The majority of the boys have uniforms and the regular scout equipment. A few lines on each national group may be of value.

American: 46 members, 3 troops

The troops which have been organized at Robert College and are known as the Robert College Boy Scouts, are under the direction of an American scoutmaster and are registered in America. The American Boy Scout Handbook is used. Each troop meets once a week and every Wednesday they go in for hikes, rallies, games, tests, and instruction. Inter-troop competition is organized each month and points awarded for advancement. There is a scoutmaster and assistant scoutmasters and patrol leaders.

b. Armenian: 1000 members, 32 troops

Half the members are orphans, organized in fifteen troops at six points; the other seventeen troops are made

up of natives of the city, in twelve localities. The Armenian Boy Scouts have a Board of Managers of eight members, under the honorary presidency of His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch. Aside from uniforms, the Armenian Boy Scouts are not equipped according to the requirements. There are many other boys who would be admitted if they could secure uniforms. There are four troops thus ready at the Kouleli Central Orphanage, in addition to the three already formed there. The great expense of the scout equipment on the market prevents their purchasing. They also lack scout literature, such as that published in the United States.

There are already two troops of Girl Guides, and more are being organized. Plans are on foot for starting wolf cub troops for boys from seven to twelve years old.

c. English: 42 members, 2 troops

The English Boy Scouts have their headquarters in a large room in Pera. They hold their meetings weekly and practice for indoor scout tests there. The troops have complete equipment for camping and a good assortment of athletic material. The English Scout Handbook is used. This is rather unfortunate, as it is very ill adapted to scouting in Turkey.

d. Greek: 2000 members, 42 troops

Headquarters of Greek Boy Scouts are in schools, orphanages, and clubs in different parts of the city. The organization is local and the committeemen comprise the leading Greeks of the city. These men devote a great deal of time and money to stimulate and encourage the young Greek boys to live up to the laws of the scouts. The English Boy Scout Handbook has been translated into Greek and is the official guide. The Greeks have the greatest amount of scouting and recreational material.

Photograph by T. J. Damon

Boy Scouts Crossing Galata Bridge

Photograph by T. J. Damon

The Drive in the Seraglio Point Park

e. Italian: 147 members, 1 troop

The Corpo Nazionale Giovani Exploratori Italiani was organized in July, 1920, with headquarters at the Italian school, in which they have the use of the rooms and the gymnasium. They are well equipped with uniforms, staffs, knives, tents, etc., for hikes and camping. The Italian War Office assists Italian scouts, for they serve in the army only six months instead of two years, the regular period of training. Realizing that their handbook is not suited for local conditions, they have enlisted the Italian teachers in local schools to furnish the local knowledge required for their scouting activities. The boys look very smart in their uniforms and are well organized in drills, scouting activities, and games.

f. Jewish: 450 members, 9 troops

The Jewish Boy Scouts are a part of the organization of the Maccabees who elect the chief scoutmaster, who in turn appoints the local scoutmasters. As these scouts have no handbook, the chief scoutmaster writes the program, selecting parts from various books and adapting them to the needs of Jewish schools in Constantinople. The chief scoutmaster calls a meeting of the local scoutmasters and teaches them the program, which they in turn teach the boys of their troop. Their uniform is neat and free from cumbersome straps. This organization is one of the best in the city. The leaders are capable and enjoy their work, while the boys are obedient and live up to the scout laws. They are training boys in good citizenship.

g. Russian: 90 members, 10 troops

This is an organization of very recent date, being comprised of boys whose parents are refugees from Russia. They use the English Handbook. Each troop has a tent and nearly every boy a uniform and some personal equip-

ment. The members are splendid types of Russian boys. They follow their program conscientiously and last summer, when they attended the Y. M. C. A. Camp, they showed their fine spirit and character in all camp activities.

h. Turkish: 230 members, 5 or 6 troops

A good deal of prejudice had to be overcome before the Turkish Boy Scouts could be started as an organization. There was danger at first of transforming scout troops into military units and during the war, under German leadership, this became the rule, but since the Armistice, the original Boy Scout programs have been revived and groups of scoutmasters are being trained at the Galata Serai School. It will be some time, however, before Turkish Boy Scouts have a well developed organization.

Girl Guides

Girl Guides are as yet hardly organized, though English and American schools and the Russian and American Y. W. C. A. have made a beginning. There are many practical difficulties owing to the position of girls in the Near East. The English Girl Guide Handbook is used but it needs extensive adaptation to conditions in Turkey. A table summarizing facts follows:

Name	*Headquarters*	*Nationalities*	*Numbers*
1st Constantinople Girl Guide Troop	English High School	English, Greeks, Armenians	50
2nd Constantinople Girl Guide Troop	Friends Mission School	Armenians	50
American Mission Girl Guide Troop	Gedik Pasha Mission School	Greeks	15
Y. W. C. A. Girl Guide Troop	Y. W. C. A. Service Center	Greeks Armenians	13
Constantinople College Preparatory School G.G. Troop	Constantinople College	Albanians, Greeks, Americans, English	30
Russian Girl Guide Troop	Russian Y. M. C. A.	Russians	54

2. Independent Athletic Clubs

There are a number of independent athletic clubs in Constantinople, organized separately by Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Jews, and foreigners. The Greeks have a Sporting Union and three principal athletic clubs and their chief activities are soccer football, gymnastics, track and field teams. The Armenians have clubs similar to the Greeks and the Turks have teams made up of members of their own nationality, as well as others. All go in for football, hockey, sailing, fencing, track and field, and lately volley ball and basket ball. The Turks have the best teams in the city. They won the football championship for Constantinople, defeating even the British Army and Navy teams. Many of the clubs use schoolhouses or private residences for their meeting.

The Jews have athletic clubs which are organized under the society of the Maccabees. They are enthusiastic over gymnastics and games and organize teams and boy scout troops; indeed they are the center of recreational life of the Jewish people. The clubs are intelligently run, and many of the Jews are genuinely interested in sports.

The best athletic clubs have been founded by foreigners, principally British residents. They often include natives of the better classes in their membership. The best British clubs are *(a)* The San Stefano Club, which has a splendid building and a beautiful garden by the sea. Rowing, yachting, and swimming are the principal sports. *(b)* The Moda Club, which has facilities for tennis as well as for all forms of water sports. *(c)* The Yacht Club in Prinkipo (one of the Princes Islands in the Marmora) has an excellent clubhouse. *(d)* Americans have founded a Club for American Sailors and also the Bosphorus Golf Club with links above Arnaoutkeuy.

Each season there are about ten organized leagues in the city. A list follows:

1. The 1st League—Soccer Turkish
2. The 2nd League—Soccer "
3. The 3rd League—Soccer "
4. The Mackrikeuy League—Soccer Mixed
5. The Sunday League—Soccer "
6. The Maccabee League—Soccer Jewish
7. The Armenian League—Soccer Armenian
8. Greek League—Soccer Greeks
9. The British Army and Navy League—Soccer British
10. American Sailors Baseball League—American.

3. Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A. Activities

The following is a list of the recreational activities which the equipment of the Y. W. C. A. permits it to offer: gymnasium classes, athletics, camping, hiking, dramatics, reading-rooms, socials, clubs, and educational classes. The equipment, which consists of tennis material, volley balls, basket balls, and indoor baseballs, are all at the Service Center. The roof, which has been enclosed and equipped with apparatus, makes an ideal gymnasium. Two classes for members are held each week. The program consists of Swedish drill, games and folk dances. The girls at the hostels come to the Service Center for their recreation. Realizing that the building is small and that the greater part of the girls who need the Y. W. C. A. program are unable to come to the building, this institution has carried the service program to the thousands of girls in the orphanages, in and about the city. The Physical Director holds on Saturday morning an orphanage training class for Armenians, to which fourteen orphanages send representatives, while the two Turkish girls' orphanages are visited twice each month by the Physical Director. Calisthenics,

games and folk dances are taught the teachers, who in turn teach the children.

The Constantinople Y. M. C. A. furnishes facilities and conducts activities for men's and boys' recreation at five centers in the city. Each center has a building, which has been rented and equipped for recreational purposes. All these institutions are under American leadership. They all have reading rooms, libraries, club rooms, lounges, small restaurants, and cinemas, while two have pool and billiard rooms. The three regular city Associations have large rooms, which are used as gymnasiums during the winter months, and outdoor spaces equipped with basket ball, volley ball and handball courts. Talks, culture clubs for music, dramatics, and nature study are part of the Y. M. C. A. program. The six physical directors are all college men; one had a four years' physical training course, and another has had the training course and also a course leading to a medical degree. All have organized leaders' classes for work in the Association and also for community work. The Y. M. C. A. is increasingly popular among the boys and young men of the city, and its possibilities for developing healthy recreation and a proper interest in and love of games are limitless.

Note: At present in Constantinople there is a large Army of Occupation, including French, British, American, and Italian soldiers and sailors. Each of the armies has organized definite games and means of recreation for the men, upon lines familiar in the respective countries from which the men come. While these organizations, teams, etc., may have a stimulating influence on the spirit of sport in the city, they can hardly be counted as a part of the life of the people inhabiting Constantinople. They, no doubt, raise the sport standards on every side and encourage competition, but a detailed description of their activities is not necessary in this report.

IX

WIDOWHOOD

A Study of Dependency Due to War

MABELLE C. PHILLIPS

OUTLINE

I. Limits of This Study

II. Turkish Widows and Children
1. Housing Conditions
2. Health
3. Dress
4. Educational and Religious Opportunities
5. Occupations
6. Summary

III. Armenian Widows and Children
1. Housing Conditions
2. Health
3. Dress
4. Educational and Religious Opportunities
5. Occupations
6. Summary

IV. Greek Widows and Children
1. Physical Conditions
2. School and Church
3. Occupations

V. Jewish Widows and Children
1. Health and Housing
2. Dress
3. School and Synagogue
4. Occupations
5. Summary

VI. Summary and General Conclusions

I. Limits of this Study

When it was decided to include a section on Dependency in the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople, the first question which naturally arose was: "How many dependents are there in the city?" Who could tell? If the answers of all who know anything about various phases of poverty were added together, would the sum approach a real sum-total? It was agreed that nothing like a real estimate could be reached in that way. If the mere extent of dependency was thus impossible to estimate, how study all the various problems connected with it? In this way the realization was brought home that the only possible way to make any survey of dependency was to take a cross-section of the whole problem. Because war widows in the city had been the concern of the chairman of this section for two years, it seemed reasonable to select that part of dependency due to the absence through death of the father and husband, as the subject of our survey. In any city widowhood is one of the chief causes of dependency. The condition of the war widow and her children in a city like Constantinople is bound to represent a phase of pure dependency for which we need not concern ourselves with the causes, since they are known, but can devote our whole attention to the result. The knowledge of thousands of such women and at least ten thousand children is in the background of the writer's mind. But this study will limit itself to the statistics of four hundred homes, one hundred of each of the four chief nationalities. To outline the conditions material and immaterial, under which these women and children are existing, and to make some few tentative suggestions for the improvement of conditions and agencies, will be the two-fold

purpose of this section of the Pathfinder Survey. It will take no account of half-orphans who are in orphanages, or of widows and children living in camps as refugees, for both are studied in other sections. In limiting this survey to women and children in their own homes, this section will the more definitely give a picture of the whole situation and thus justify its claim to be a cross-section of dependency. One cross-section, indeed, is not enough. In Constantinople, differences of nationality are so great that it is necessary to make four separate studies of conditions in the homes of the four principal nationalities before coming to any general conclusions. This study, therefore, covers: Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Jewish.

II. Turkish Widows and Children

1. Housing Conditions

Turkish widows may be classified under three heads, according to housing: first, those living in mosques proper; secondly, those living in *imarets* and *medresés;* thirdly, those living in their own homes. Of the first, this section will not treat, as those living in mosques are refugees either because of fire or war and rightly come under the section on refugees, the mosque being simply a refugee camp and not a religious house in this connection. The imaret and medresé, however, while belonging to the mosque, offer individual homes, and many families maintain in them an individual and private home life.

The imaret is that section of the mosque designed for the housing and feeding of the poor. It generally consists of a courtyard surrounded by four sides of a building one room deep. There may be one or more families in a room. Curiously enough, in mosques which were formerly Christian churches, the imaret may occupy the actual place once

Photograph by Resne

Widows with Starving Children

used by the attendant monastery with its kindred philanthropic purpose.[1]

The medresé is the school building belonging to the mosque which, if unused as a school, may be available for housing the poor. The medresé has no characteristic form of architecture like the imaret and varies a great deal as to its condition. It is dilapidated, and of wood or concrete.

The housing of the poor in imarets and medresés naturally comes under the jurisdiction of the Moslem religious authorities, namely, the Evkaf, or Pious Foundation, a very unique agency which will be taken up later under that head. For the present we need consider those widows and children in mosque buildings exactly as those in private homes, except that their housing is rent-free and that they may live in a little closer proximity to neighbors than others.

The private home of the Turkish widow varies very much, but has one unfailing characteristic. It consists almost invariably of one room, although there may be a tiny ante-room, large enough to hold a jar of water and the inmates' wooden sabots always left at the entrance. The number of inmates per room averages 3.9 in a hundred cases chosen at random. These hundred families lived in 104 rooms, the highest number in one room being ten persons, the lowest number, three. The lack of homes for any class may be responsible for this crowding. It is certain that the fact that large areas of the city are lying in ruins from fires must cause terrible pressure on the poorest members of society. Yet in spite of overcrowding, the condition of the home, so far as the tenant's care is concerned, is really remarkable. Of 100 homes visited, 31 were considered in good condition by the visitor, 22 in fair condition, and 44 in poor condition. Immaculately scrubbed boards, no furniture but a roll of bedding or a rug, and a wooden seat were the rule. A brazier burning charcoal did for heat and

[1] See St. Andrew in Krissei, now Kodja Moustafa Pasha Djami.

cooking, while a baby or a cat enjoyed priority as to proximity to the brazier in inclement weather.

But care of the home given by the tenant is in striking contrast to the absence of municipal housekeeping. In the first place, no laws of condemnation are enforced and many, if not most, of the houses of Turkish widows would be condemned in any responsible municipality. One whole settlement constructed of gasoline tins and old boards enjoys a favorable location in Nishantash, one of the best sections of the city. Here the entrance of one house of a widow is a narrow round opening such as one would see in a chicken coop. This architecture, of course, eliminates the necessity of a door with hinges, door handle, and such apparently unnecessary trifles. If buildings of this kind were condemned, many widows would have to sleep in the street. In answer to a request for possible change of address, one widow replied, in the usual Orientese, "The world is my home." (She had become homeless since the previous inquiry.) The municipality, therefore, perhaps out of kindness, refrains from condemning buildings for human occupation. It also refrains from removing much garbage which can be picked over by children of widows and others in search of food. The street fountain is almost invariably the only source of water supply and is often a block or two distant from the home.

2. Health

Under such conditions it is scarcely strange that the health of the family is not all that could be desired. Among 247 children of 100 Turkish widows, 72, or less than one-third were found to be in need of medical or surgical care.[1] However, it was remarked by those coming into contact with Turkish children that many looked both healthy and

[1] All statistics are taken from the records of the Case Committee of the Constantinople Unit of the Near East Relief.

fat. It is seen that their condition is on the whole better than that of the average child of the four nationalities examined by the Case Committee of the Near East Relief from January to April, 1921, for of these 1224, or nearly one half, were found to be in need of surgical or medical care. Reference to the map, giving the location of Turkish families cared for by the Near East, shows that these homes stretch from a point up the Bosphorus near the Black Sea (Yeni Mahallé) down to Kadikeuy on the opposite Asiatic shore, and from Sirkedji in Stamboul to Eyoub at the end of the Golden Horn. These locations imply country life for a large majority and may account for the ruddy appearance of many a bright-eyed boy or girl.

Mrs. Norton of Constantinople College has made some investigation as to the food used in the homes of these Turkish widows. Her findings are given among the general conclusions, for she was unable to find any characteristic items of diet among the different nationalities, except for the fact that among Turks rice was more generally employed and an occasional bit of meat, perhaps once in a month. This last item of diet was found only among the Turks.

3. Dress

The dress of Turkish women is well known. It consists of a cape which forms a head covering as well as wrap and the skirt among simpler women is often of the same piece. Being of black or brown generally, it is neat, and many a very poor woman has her black cape and skirt which may cover a multitude of lacks. The veil is seldom if ever worn to-day by poorer women. The costume is not used for girls until they are grown, and little girls dress like other children, except that they wear a scarf, never a hat, and their skirts are longer than those of other girls, giving the girls of six or seven a very quaint "Kate Greenaway" appearance. The Turkish children wear wooden sabots, which

they leave at the door upon entering, and in the home they are barefoot, or if fortunate wear woolen stockings. All underwear among both boys and girls is devoid of buttons and kept in place by divers strings which, the doctors find, are generally tied too tightly. Turkish babies, like others in the East, are bound in bands of cloth.

4. Educational and Religious Opportunities

Educational possibilities for poor children in Constantinople are more limited than they appear from the list of Community and Private Schools. Children of widows may go to school without paying tuition as a rule, but the greatest diligence on the part of the Near East Committee succeeded in starting comparatively few Turkish children in school. Of 247 children under fourteen in 100 homes, 115 were in school, 97 at home and 5 at work at the end of the second year's activity of the Committee. Reasons given for keeping the children at home were seldom such as heard in America. Truancy was not necessary, for neither the mother nor the Committee worker felt the great necessity of keeping the child at school. No compulsion from Church or State was attempted. Poverty might be said to be the prevailing cause of lack of attendance, but even with children dressed by American Relief, and partly fed, with tuition provided from other sources if necessary, it was possible to secure in two years less than 50 per cent of school attendance. The fact that 90 per cent of these mothers were illiterate has, of course, its bearing on the subject.

Opportunities for spiritual welfare for women and children were even more negligible. The mosque, center of religious life, is seldom used by women or children, whatever solace or enlightenment it may mean to men. For recreation, mothers may take their children to sit in the cemetery or on a sunny bank near the Marmora, where per-

haps the boys will fly a kite. No other recreation was ever observed by the writer among Turkish women and children. Libraries of mosques and medresés are free, but no one ever knew of a woman who entered one. Coffee houses are used by the humblest porter, but forbidden to women. The public bath, which is in a way the social center for women and children as well as for men, is unfortunately beyond the means of widows who are without food, let alone the price, ten piasters ($.08), for a bath.

What, then, is the home life of the Turkish widow and her children? A place for shelter with some food, clean, bare, crowded with human beings, no family meal, no books, toys, music, nor games. These women are not always of the lower class. There are families in which the fathers, once held such occupations as *Hodja* (religious teacher), government employee, custom house official, pray-er for the dead, bazaar merchant, secretary, tailor, policeman. Yet for the women only two occupations were generally available, washing and sewing. The servants of the city are Armenians and Greeks, so it is acknowledged that Turkish women cannot earn what others earn, because they are not trained by custom and heredity.

5. *Turkish Occupations*

The economic situation of the Turkish widow is almost impossible to realize. She cannot realize it herself, let alone describe it. A brief interview in which it was attempted to ascertain the occupation and earnings of one woman will throw some light on the difficulty of getting accurate information:

Q. What kind of work do you do?
A. I, Hanum Effendi? (Lady, Madam).
Q. Yes, you, Madam.
A. What should such a lowly, humble person as I do?

Q. Do you go out and work by the day?

A. Well, when I am called I go. But there are many to be called and few who call. Seldom am I called.

(Families (100) chosen at random from records of Case Committee, Near East Relief)

Of Deceased Husbands		*Of Widows*
16 Soldiers	1 Porter	23 No occupation
13 Unknown	1 Blacksmith	27 Laundresses
8 Merchants	1 Muezzin	15 Day-workers
4 Farmers	1 Hostler	7 Food-sellers
4 Servants	1 Water-seller	10 Seamstresses
4 Coachmen	1 Policeman	4 Embroiderers
4 Food-sellers	1 Tailor	2 Water-sellers
3 Shoemakers	1 Beadmaker	2 Weavers
3 Barbers	1 Pray-er for the dead	2 Servants
3 Masons	1 Machinist	1 Dressmaker
3 Secretaries	1 Employment Agent	1 Cook
3 Butchers	1 Embroiderer	1 Teacher
3 Officials	1 Milkman	1 Poetess
3 Priests	1 Carpenter	1 Nurse
2 Sailors	1 Doctor	1 Pray-er for the dead
2 Fishermen	1 Lamp-lighter	1 Paper-bag maker
2 Postmen	1 Gateman	1 Caretaker
2 Factory workers	1 Boatman	
Total occupations	35	Total occupations 16

Q. But when you are called what do you do?

A. I, Hanum Effendi?

Q. Yes, you, Madam. Do you wash?

A. Why, Hanum Effendi, sometimes I clean the floor or sometimes I may clean the clothing of those who walk on the floors that I have cleaned.

Q. And in that work how much do you gain?

A. All I gain is eaten.

Q. But what do you spend for eating, say in one day?

A. That I have never reckoned in all my life.

Q. But do you gain enough for eating?

A. Hanum Effendi, when I do not gain enough, that day Allah does not give me hunger.

Q. Well do you gain two liras ($1.60) in a month?

A. I gain only what Allah gives but he is great. We must not criticize.

Q. Perhaps you are not strong enough to work every day. Are you well?

A. Yes Hanum Effendi, thanks to Allah and to you I am well, or at least so-so.

Q. And your children, are they well?
A. Yes, Hanum Effendi, thanks to Allah and to American milk, they are very well.[1]

As the result of such conversations as this, it is not remarkable that the average earnings of 100 Turkish widows taken at random, proved to be Ltq. 2.58 ($2.06) per month, while the house rent alone, a definite sum, in the same homes averaged Ltq. 2.90 ($2.32). Although the rent was not always paid, it is reasonable to believe that generally it was and that the earnings of the women were greater than they realized or cared to admit.

Yet among the 247 children in these 100 homes, only 5 were regularly employed. One worked in the Near East Fabrica and earned 60 piasters ($.48) a day as a learner. Another worked for food only in a shop. And two were servants working for food only. The child's contribution to the family budget was practically *nil*.

The relief rendered by Americans and a few others is doubtless the only thing which kept many of these widows and children alive. The Near East Relief, besides giving clothing and charcoal, gave in food to each child about five pounds of bread a week, and milk for those ill or under seven years of age. The Turkish Government gave three widows out of the hundred a pension amounting to an average of Ltk. 2.57 ($2.06) per month. No other relief was reported in these hundred cases.

6. Summary

To summarize the actual conditions of Turkish widows and their children, one need only clothe the statistics with flesh, and composite widow is realized. She is a woman with three children. They all live in one room for which she pays Ltq. 2.90 ($2.32) a month. Her husband was a soldier almost all the time of her married life, so in his

[1] From notes of actual conversation between writer and Turkish widow.

absence she has had to earn what she could by cleaning and washing with even a little embroidery, too, although her hands were not fit for it. She is illiterate, so cannot figure exactly what she earns or spends. Her estimate is that she earns less than she pays for rent alone, but this is so clearly impossible it is likely she earns considerably more. Anyway, her economic situation is so near bankruptcy that she is forced to apply for relief, and since her husband is only "lost," not "killed," she can obtain nothing from the Government. She receives Ltq. 3.67 ($2.94) a month in food to supplement the children's diet and they seem to thrive, although one is home from school because he has a malady of the scalp, "Favus," which she believes is incurable. In the face of the impossible situation what can she do but take the sick boy with her and sit by the Bosphorus nearly all day? There is something within her which finds solace in the contemplation of the blue waters and the purple hills of Anatolia.

III. Armenian Widows and Children

The Armenian war widow in Constantinople may be an exile or a native. If an exile and without resources of any kind, she may accept the hospitality of a refugee camp. If possessed of any initiative, friends, or assistance, she will generally prefer to find a little shelter of her own somewhere and there set up the household gods, a rug or box. Armenians are chiefly found on the European shores of the Bosphorus, in Galata and Pera, Shishli, Pangalti, Koum Kapou, Gedik Pasha, and Makrikeuy, with a few on the hills above the Golden Horn on either shore (See map page ——).

1. Housing Conditions

These districts provide shelter as miserable as any for the poor, the extremes of discomfort being found in Koum Kapou near the Sea of Marmora, where the old sea wall

offers large holes, quite unfit for human habitation but so used. Perhaps a ruined library may be found to house a family in each niche. Although wooden slats at a distance of a foot apart are the only means of access, no one seems anxious about the children who must climb this stair to reach their airy lodgings. At least the rats will be less troublesome up there than in the holes in the sea wall where the others live. But not all the Armenian homes are so unsuitable. Although the single room is the rule for a family, 100 families living in 101 rooms, the crowding generally great, there are many homes where the cleanliness, order, and privacy make for a real home life. The average number of persons per room in 100 families chosen at random from Near East Relief records was 3.73. The largest number in one room was 6, the smallest number 2.

2. Health

It was often conceded that survival of the fittest accounted for the health of women and children who had come through the hardships of exile to a home in Constantinople. Indeed, although many women complain of weakness, rheumatism, and slight ills, the percentage of serious illness is slight. Of 100 widows only 48 were really well; 52 needed medical or surgical care. Of 264 children of these widows, 219 were in good health. Only 45 needed care. This number seemed so surprisingly small that it was thought best to consult the records of all Armenian children examined by the Case Committee during January, February, March, and April, 1921. Of these 1721, only 307 were found in need of treatment. These figures show the robustness of the Armenian children as compared with those of other nationalities.[1]

[1] Referred to Clinic for treatment.

Record of Examinations by Near East Relief Case Committee
January-April, 1921

	Greeks	*Armenians*	*Jews*	*Turks*	*Total*
Seen	1001	1721	1019	249	3990
Ref.	307	307	315	107	1036

Among 50 children of Armenian widows sent to American Clinics the following illnesses were found:

27 Undernourishment	6 Malaria
24 Round Worms	4 Trachoma
14 Diseased Tonsils	3 Tape worm
12 Bronchitis	1 Chilblains
8 Conjunctivitis	1 Kidney trouble
7 Scabies	1 Heart trouble
7 Other skin diseases	1 Tuberculosis
7 Diarrhea	1 Chickenpox
	1 Measles
	125 Total number illnesses

Of the 125 illnesses one half may be attributed to the lack of proper food. The nourishment of widows' children was always a problem with which mothers and workers had to grapple. Although bread and milk were provided in small quantities by the Near East Relief (about five pounds of bread per child per week and two cans of milk for younger children), nearly every mother found also for her family, fish, potatoes, rice, olives, olive oil and beans. Some added green vegetables, *yoghourt* (a good sour milk food), cheese, macaroni, tea, sugar, and *helva* (a candy made from honey and sesame seeds) spread on bread as a treat for the youngsters. The minimum diet found in one Armenian village was bread, onions, and salt. The maximum diet never contained any meat, eggs, fresh milk, or fruit, those so-called indispensables of children's and adults' diet. When melons become plentiful, however, these are added to everyone's diet, and there is a melon known as "bread" which is very commonly used.

3. Dress

The Armenian widows and children dress in Constantinople very much like widows and children anywhere, although peasant women in exile generally wear the wide separated skirt and arrange their hair in two braids with

a black headdress. Many of the children dress in cast-off American clothing and often look very healthy, happy, and even prosperous. They do not like the wooden sabots, but prefer shoes or slippers with woolen socks or stockings. They go without shoes in the home even if it is a bare-floored room.

4. Educational and Religious Opportunities

Education of the Armenians is in the hands of the Church. Church and nation being one, the present desperate condition of the nation is reflected in all religious institutions. Church schools are inadequate, crowded, poor. Yet the Armenians have the keenest desire for education. In one community alone the Armenian Committee assisting the Near East Relief in the care of widows, placed 240 children in school. Of 248 children in 100 families, chosen at random, 172 attended school, 76 were at home and 8 worked. Of those who could go to school and did not, poverty could not be made the plea, for children who went to school received a good hot lunch at noon and were better off consequently than those who stayed at home. No lack of interest among mothers or committee workers was found except in the rarest instances. Mothers even kept children in school, or wished to enter them, when the children were sixteen or older, even though the family was greatly in need of their assistance as wage-earners. Illiteracy among the mothers is far less common than among the Turks. Among the cases chosen for this study only 35 per cent were illiterate.

Of opportunities for spiritual welfare among the Armenians there was only the Church with its services and fêtes. Armenian women do not show the devotion to nature and out-of-doors which Turkish women manifest. One never sees them sitting on the shores of the Bosphorus or on the hilltops basking in the sun. The children play as others do

in the streets and school yards, but have no parks or playgrounds except in schools and orphanages. At home the child, like his Turkish brothers and sisters, is without books, games, and toys. There is no family meal.

Family life in the home of the widow is secondary, of course, to the economic necessity. Where every mother must earn, the home must suffer. Earn what she can the total will barely cover the chief item of expense—rent. Of 100 widows there were 78 who worked, the average earnings being Ltq. 4.94 ($3.95) per month, and the average rent Ltq. 3.28 ($2.62). The economic situation is apparent even when Near East Relief aid supplemented food, clothing, coal, and medical supplies.

Varying standards of living are implied by the occupations followed by the husbands of these widows before the war. Many of the women are entirely unused to hard labor. Fifty per cent, however, had to resort to laundry and day's work for a living. Full lists of occupations are as follows:

5. *Armenian Occupations*

(Families (100) chosen at random from records of Case Committee, Near East Relief.)

Of Deceased Husbands		*Of Widows*	
15	Not known	25	No occupation
11	Merchants	26	Laundresses
9	Shoemakers	20	Day workers
7	Food-vendors	19	Seamstresses
5	Grocers	4	Spinners
5	Carpenters	2	Servants
4	Clerks	1	Ironer
3	Iron-workers	1	Water-carrier
3	Goldsmiths	1	Janitor
2	Handkerchief-makers	1	Knitter
2	Butchers	Total Occupations 9.	
2	Clock-makers		
2	Barbers		
2	Gardeners		
2	Coachmen		
2	Pharmacists		
2	Farmers		
2	Painters		
1	Embroiderer		
1	Church singer		
1	Paper-maker		
1	Secretary		
1	Plasterer		
1	Lawyer		
1	Water-seller		
1	Baker		
1	Cook		
1	Ironer		
1	Teacher		
1	Blacksmith		
1	Boatman		
1	Starcher		
1	Nurse		
1	Mason		
1	Tailor		
1	Musician		
Total Occupations 37			

6. Summary

The average Armenian widow may be pictured as a woman 34 years old, with three children, two in school and one working for food alone at a carpenter shop where he is learning a trade. The mother earns Ltq. 4.94 ($3.95) a month by washing and after she has paid the rent, there is a balance of .66 piastre ($.005) per day to spend for food, clothing, and household needs. She gets six loaves of bread a week from the Near East Relief, and two cans of milk for the youngest child who is under seven. Clothing and charcoal are also given her. This woman's husband was a merchant and she has never been used to work, therefore laundry and cleaning are almost impossible for her. She has developed varicose veins from standing and the pain is great. However, she keeps at work one or two days a week, and the children are sent to school. Even in a study such as this, based on statistics and not for the purpose of propaganda, one must record the great heroism of these Armenian women who have suffered everything, including death of their loved ones, exile, and dishonor, who have no definite hope for themselves or for their country. Yet they carry on, sending their children to school, toiling at unaccustomed and difficult tasks, keeping their families together against fearful odds. It is heroism which must bear fruit in the character of their children.

IV. Greek Widows and Children

1. Physical Conditions

Greek widows are found in the Bosphorus villages from the Belgrade forest to Pera and Galata, in Stamboul at

Gedik Pasha, Balat, Valino, and Phanar, and across the Marmora in Kadikeuy. Most of these families lived in these places before the war, but some are exiles from Anatolia and Thrace. Residence in these villages signifies country life, and the Greeks especially till gardens and live more as peasants than as city dwellers. One might expect that their physical condition would reflect this outdoor life, but only the children appear to benefit by it. The heavy toil of the women, who must be bread-winners as well as home-makers, may well prevent their being benefited. Of 100 women, 50 only were found to be well. Fifty were ill enough to need medical treatment. Among the 277 children, 247 were well, only 30 needing treatment. Records of no other nationality show children in such good health. Those ill, however, suffered from the usual diseases. Among 50 Greek children sent to American clinics the following cases of illness were found:

22 Undernourishment	4 Favus
19 Worms	3 Ear troubles
8 Bronchitis	2 Measles
7 Enlarged Tonsils	1 Impetigo
6 Scabies	1 Malaria
6 Conjunctivitis	1 Epilepsy
5 Diarrhea	1 Hernia
5 Trachoma	1 Heart Disease

On the whole 50 per cent of these children needed mere food, 75 per cent needed medicine, 10 per cent surgery and 4 per cent were tubercular.[1]

Houses on the outskirts of the city, unfortunately, were no less crowded than others. Here again we found 100 families living in 101 rooms, the average number of persons per room being 4.2. The highest number in one room was 9, the lowest 2. Thirty-three per cent of the rooms were considered good, 17 per cent fair and 60 per cent poor. Absolute lack of municipal housekeeping prevails

[1] Report of Dr. Graff, Physician to American Clinics.

in the country, and of course no condemnation of dwellings unfit for human habitation. In one Greek community pigs are the stable product of the well-to-do farmers. The whole village is literally a sty. A visit in warm weather is apt to cost the visitor acute nausea, yet the people who live there do not seem to notice the odor. Food is certainly easier to obtain in these districts than in the heart of the city, yet investigation did not find any characteristic diet peculiar to the Greeks.

The Greeks dress like the Armenians. There is the same bambino type of baby, older children tied into what clothing can be found, and mothers in black, the country women wearing trousers, going barefoot a great deal, and both women and children wearing sabots on the street. Sabots may be had for 15 piastres ($.12) a pair, so relief workers hail them with joy for the children's school wear. Unfortunately the school authorities did not look with favor on them, the noise of hundreds of wooden feet being probably the reason for this disapproval.

2. School and Church

For Greek children, the Greek Church provides free schooling and there are apparently more Greek schools for the number of children than among other nationalities, although the figures to substantiate this statement would be hard to find. It is certain that a place could always be found for a Greek orphan in school. In one distant village where there was no school in 1919, one was opened in 1920 through the coöperation of the Greek High Commissioner, and 200 children entered. This was one instance where activity on behalf of war orphans secured benefits for all children in a community. Of 277 Greek children in 100 homes, 200 were in school, 70 were at home and 7 were at work. Among the Greeks desire for learning is great, although 51 per cent of the widows in question were

illiterate. As with the Armenians, school lunches were provided and children going to school were thus better off than those staying at home.

Perhaps because no other recreation is available, the Greek Church offers more holidays and fêtes than the calendar of the Western Church provides. Or perhaps the Greeks celebrate their holidays with more enthusiasm. There is little else in the way of recreation for a Greek widow and children. But on Epiphany every waterside village is thronged with holiday-makers. A priest throws a cross into the water; the young men of the village leap in, although it is winter and the water and wind icy. The first man to touch the cross may keep it for the day and collect for himself and the Church all the pennies passers-by will yield. Or it is May and the festival is that of the Holy Fish at Balukli outside the city walls.[1] Greek Easter and Greek Christmas are fêtes covering several days or a week each, and the seasons are especially welcome to the poor, as then, if ever, the Church will make each widow a gift of a few piastres or a little food.

Holidays are indeed dear to the Greeks, but life at home, at least for the widow and dependent children is drab enough to need all the cheer the Church can provide. Our composite picture is that of a widow 34 years old with three children, of whom two go to school and one is at home. The house consists of one room for which Ltq. 2.42 ($1.94) is paid monthly. The father was a truck-farmer and the family comfortable before the war, but the mother is illiterate and can only work the ground for a neighbor, earning 20 to 25 piastres ($.16 to $.20) a day.[2] In short, she has

[1] The legend is, that upon the day of the conquest of the city by the Turks a monk was frying fish by the holy well when someone came running to announce that the Turks had broken through the walls. The monk exclaimed: "I would as soon believe it as that these fish would leap alive from the fire." Whereupon the fish leaped, half-cooked as they were, from their pan into the holy well, where it is believed their descendants may be seen to-day.

[2] See page 307 for Greek occupations.

after the rent is paid about sixty piastres ($.48) a week to spend for clothing, household goods, food, and all other necessities. The Greek mother, however, will not give up in despair. She will toil desperately until Easter, and then, all her little flock arrayed in whatever can be found or begged, they will go to church and spend the rest of the day upon the streets watching the crowds. If fortune is great enough, they may even take a boat to Prinkipo to visit a little relative there in the orphanage. If the fare means no bread for a day or two, at least the holiday has been fittingly observed.

3. Greek Occupations

(Families (100) chosen at random from records of Case Committee, Near East Relief.)

Of Deceased Husbands		*Of Widows*
11 Food-vendors	1 Gate-keeper	24 Unknown or none
8 Carpenters	1 Painter	37 House-workers
6 Shoemakers	1 Dentist	24 Laundresses
6 Masons	1 Commissioner	10 Day-workers
5 Gardeners	1 Rugmaker	8 Seamstresses
4 Tailors	1 Thread-maker	2 Hairdressers
4 Cigarette-makers	1 Farmer	2 Child's Nurses
3 Builders	1 Druggist	1 Servant
2 Water-vendors	1 Porter	1 Choir Singer
2 Wine-sellers	1 Old-clothes man	1 Embroiderer
2 Janitors	1 Miller	Total 9 Occupations
2 Barbers	1 Driver	
2 Teachers	1 Clerk	
2 Fishermen	1 Printer	
2 Day-laborers	1 Merchant	
1 Money-changer	1 Door-keeper	
1 Tinsmith	1 Waiter	
1 Grocer	1 Shepherd	
Total 36 Occupations		

V. Jewish Widows and Children

Native Jews in Constantinople occupy a unique place. Driven by the Spanish Inquisition to Salonica in 1492, they spread over all the Near East and congregated naturally in the largest cities. In Turkey they have been befriended

by the Turks and have suffered from neither massacre nor exile as the Christians have. However, the men have been drafted for war as Ottoman subjects and been killed or crippled like the rest, so the Jewish widow claims our interest. Certainly no other widows are more desperately poor than the Jewish mothers in Haskeuy, Balat, and Kassim Pasha on the Golden Horn, Sirkedji in Stamboul, Ortakeuy on the Bosphorus, and in the three Jewish villages across the Bosphorus—Kouzgoundjouk, Daghhamam, and Haidar Pasha.

1. Health and Housing

The Jewish widow impresses one as more robust than either Greek or Armenian, although she, like the Turk, is a city dweller, living where people are thickest, not on the outskirts of the town as do the Greeks. Her work is of the roughest sort in homes of those little better off than herself, where religious law demands at least a weekly scrubbing. Statistics for the help of mothers show that again nearly half of the women are in need of medical care. Of 100 Jewish women, 56 were well, 44 sick enough to require treatment. Among their 267 children 153 were well, 36 delicate, and 78 ill enough to require a doctor. In one community of 200 women and children, Ortakeuy, as many as 170 children came to the American clinic in one month. Diseases among 50 of these children chosen at random were:

43 Undernourishment
31 Favus
30 Worms
26 Bronchitis
25 Scabies
12 Diarrhea
17 Conjunctivitis
11 Ear trouble
7 Tonsilitis
5 Boils
4 Impetigo
3 Trachoma
3 Injuries
2 Kidney trouble
2 Chilblains
1 Chickenpox
1 Ringworm
1 Tuberculosis
1 Measles
1 Rachitis

Most of these troubles may be attributed to poor food and many to bad housing and overcrowding.

Houses consisted almost invariably of one room, 100 families living in 104 rooms, with the number of inmates running as high as 9 and never less than 3. The average number of persons per room was 4.12. Native visitors called only 10 of these rooms good, 43 were fair, and 47 bad. Such rooms! Little sinks, dark noisome dens in a multiple family house of Galata, or a mere chicken coop of boards and tins in a district like Haskeuy! The latter village at the end of the Golden Horn was once the fashionable and comfortable English quarter of the city. Some of the houses were built for one family, but now hold a large family in each room, like the venerable tenements of Greenwich Village, New York City. Often one could not stand upright in the attic apartment or in the cellar, both frequented by the poorer citizens, very often war-widows and their children.

2. Dress

Clothing of the Jews was like that of the Armenians and Greeks, except that a peculiar jacket was found among the Jewish women, the origin of which would be interesting to trace. There was scarcely a widow, especially among the older widows and grandmothers, who did not wear a fur-lined coat. The fur might be cat or even rat, but fur it must be, and even in summer these coats would be seen on the street. The old men wear a long paletot of the same fur-lined variety. They are worn in the house as well as on the street, as indeed the house is little warmer or drier. One is thankful for this little touch of comfort for those poor backs. The children unfortunately do not share the fashion, but dress in any rags they can find. Indeed, they found much better than rags in the old clothes sent from America for widows and orphans. Still better, in some dis-

tricts active committees got interested in these fatherless children, and in one or two places the writer was overjoyed to find the children of the war all neatly dressed in black aprons, cloth dresses, new shoes, overcoats, and hats. Children with fathers living were quite poorly dressed by comparison. To such heights can the Jewish welfare worker rise, once her enthusiasm is enlisted!

3. School and Synagogue

The educational facilities for Jewish children improved greatly in two years. In villages like Haskeuy, where in 1919 nearly all children seemed to be living on the street, in 1921 not a child could be seen out-of-doors during school hours. To be sure, no compulsion existed, but a real desire for education actuated every mother, even the poorest, to send her children to school. That it was not always possible is proved by the figures, for of 267 Jewish children from 100 homes only 148 attended school, 99 were at home, and 20 at work. A good deal of variety existed in the kind of schools provided. Poor little communities, like Kassim Pasha, had a small community school. The big Alliance schools offered more, but with much crowding. The large private foundations and French Lyceés were the best equipped. Although 20 Jewish children out of 100 homes had to work, even these tried to find lessons at night, and the fact that 63 per cent of mothers were illiterate seemed rather to increase their wish that the children should be educated.

Home life among Jewish widows is no more attractive than among other nationalities, and owing to the unspeakable houses must be worse. The synagogue offers little in the way of recreation or fêtes, although the synagogual unit is concerned with the poor and unfortunate in a way perhaps more practical than in other religious contacts. The Jewish societies, for which there is a building in every

Jewish district, represent an opportunity for recreation and enlightenment of the men and some women, in each quarter, but they are not available for the poor and lowly. Although church, home, and society offer little for the spiritual refreshment of the Jewish child and mother, it must be realized that there is something potent in Jewish life and religion to maintain the real germ of family life. The Jewish child has in general a respect for his mother and the family which is perhaps more marked than in any nationality, even in the East where the characteristic is more marked than in the West.

4. Occupations

This tendency unfortunately is offset by the necessity for the widow to earn her livelihood with the usual resultant, neglected home and children on the street. Among a hundred women 72 worked, chiefly at housework, thereby earning enough to pay the rent and scarcely more. The average income in these families was Ltq. 8.15 ($6.52) per month. The highest income was Ltq. 15 ($12.) and the lowest Ltq. 2 ($1.60). The average rent was Ltq. 1.69 ($1.35) with a maximum rent of Ltq. 4 ($3.20) and a minimum of 25 piastres ($.20). Thirty-eight per cent of the families had free rent.

The economic situation of the Jewish widow is thus seen to be much better than that of the Turkish widow. She can pay her rent and has a balance of Ltq. 1.36 a week to spend for food, clothing and everything else. She is solvent, in other words, if still wretchedly poor.

5. Summary

Our composite picture of the Jewish widow is a woman of 36 with three children, of whom one goes to school, one is at work, and one stays at home. Her husband was a food-vendor and she knows no other work than cleaning,[1]

[1] See page 312 for Jewish Occupations.

whereby she earns Ltq. 8.15 ($6.52) a month. It is little wonder that luxuries, such as books, games, toys, movies for the children, are unknown and even paras for candy or cake are impossible. The children play in the street for recreation and the mother does not know what it is. The contemplation of nature is foreign to her. Her only joy in life, it almost seems, is the use of her tongue. She does love to talk and even to quarrel. This may, who knows, keep her soul alive, for it is almost her only solace in a world of grinding toil, desperate want, and filthy, sordid environment.

Jewish Occupations

(Families (100) chosen at random from records of Case Committee, Near East Relief)

Of Deceased Husbands		*Of Widows*
24 No occupation or not known		25 Not employed
20 Street vendors	2 Carpenters	25 Laundresses
6 Shoemakers	2 Servants	16 Day workers
5 Porters	2 Fez-makers	14 Servants
5 Soldiers	1 Merchant	8 Beggars
4 Fishermen	1 Tinsmith	4 Street vendors
3 Cigarette-makers	1 Courier	2 Dressmakers
3 Umbrella-makers	1 Musician	2 Cigarette-makers
3 Glaziers	1 Sailor	1 Dishwasher
3 Old-clothes men	1 Rabbi	1 Seamstress
3 Grocers	1 Embroiderer	1 Greengrocer
3 Business men	1 Tailor	1 Office worker
2 Coachmen	1 Butcher	
Total Occupations 24		Total 11 Occupations

SUMMARY
of
Information concerning 400 homes

(Chosen at random from Near East Relief records of 100 Turkish, 100 Armenian, 100 Greek and 100 Jewish widows aided in Constantinople)

	Average Rent per Month	*Total No. of Rooms*	*Average No. in Rooms*	*Condition of Room* (according to native visitor's idea of livableness)		
				Good	*Fair*	*Bad*
Turkish.....Ltq.	2.90	104	3.9	31	22	47
Armenian	3.28	101	3.73	29	21	50
Greek	2.42	101	4.02	33	7	60
Jewish	1.69	104	4.12	10	43	47
Average	2.57	102	3.94	103	93	204

Summary of information concerning 400 homes—*Continued.*

	Children under 14 in School	*Children at Home*	*Children at Work*	*Children's Health*	
				Well	*In Need of treatment*
Turkish	115	97	10	175	72
Armenian	172	76	8	219	45
Greek	200	97	7	247	30
Jewish	148	99	20	189	78
	635	369	45	830	225

	Average Earnings of Women per Month	*Health of Women*	
		Well	*In Need of Treatment*
Turkish	Ltq. 2.58	40	60
Armenian	4.94	48	52
Greek	5.02	50	50
Jewish	8.15	56	44
Average	5.17	194	206

	Number of Illiterate Women	*Occupations of Women*	
		Untrained	*None*
Turkish	90	53	23
Armenian	35	49	25
Greek	51	71	24
Jewish	63	68	25
	239	241	97

Average 59 per cent Illiterate — Total 338

VI. Summary and General Conclusions

We have outlined the situation of women and children in Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Jewish homes where the bread-winner has been removed by war. It remains for us merely to add these tragic figures and give the total, then to suggest if possible what can be done.

Of 400 widows chosen at random,[1] 100 from each nationality, 194 were well, 206 in need of treatment. If this means, as it must, that probably half the dependent war-widows in the city are existing under that terrible handicap, bad health of the homemaker, this fact alone casts a shadow

[1] See comparative table page 312.

over the whole situation secondary only to that cast by the death of the father. The latter factor, however, being irremediable, does not concern us, and the health of the mother becomes the leading consideration. The question is, are there medical agencies available for her? If so, how can she most quickly get in touch with them? Before answering these questions we observe that of the 1055 children from the same homes, 830 were well, but 225, or over 25 per cent, were in need of medical or surgical care. It is clear that here is another demand for special and speedy action, if one fourth of the coming generation in these orphaned homes is threatened by active illness or curable defects.

By consulting the list of agencies we find a variety of medical agencies under each of the four national heads. In addition there are British and American hospitals and clinics available for the poor. The municipality provides a free doctor in each quarter and Turkish dispensaries are open, like Turkish hospitals, to all Ottoman subjects. Although there is doubtless great variety in the standards of excellence of these institutions, at least they exist and may become better, as standards will naturally improve, where so many nationalities bring their various contributions. But it behooves the European institutions to set such standards as will benefit all, and introduce those phases of medical service which the city still lacks. Adequately trained nurses, especially district nurses such as the Medical Committee of the Near East Relief is training, might be mentioned among the chief needs. Special and adequate facilities for treating tuberculosis, incipient and advanced, venereal diseases, and education in regard to these are also greatly needed. Control and treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases, favus and other skin diseases, are urgent necessities.

But all these await settled political conditions, improved finances, and European assistance. In the meantime what

Photograph by Resne

Industrial Work in an Institution for the Poor

can be done? Organization and service by the leisured residents of the city on behalf of the suffering, seems the only solution. If organizations like the Turkish Red Crescent, the Armenian Red Cross, or the Armenian Parochial Committee, the Greek Red Cross, and the Jewish Synagogual Unit, could call together a small band of volunteers in each nationality, arrange for their training and divide the work, as nearly every community of the United States was organized by the Home Service Section of the American Red Cross, then the machinery of accomplishment would be ready. Leadership would be needed in each nationality. That might be provided by graduates of the American colleges, after special training in a school of philanthropy. If such leaders could be found and trained by funds set aside for that purpose, it is not likely that greater returns could be found for the investment of a like sum in a hospital, sanitarium, or any other philanthropic endowment.

If a few trained workers, supervising groups of volunteers, were once started at work in a city like Constantinople it is not possible that other conditions as bad as the health of the women and children would be permitted to exist. If out of 400 homes, housing as many dependent widows only one fourth are found to be good, one third are considered fair (which means probably rather bad), and about one half are actually bad, then trained workers would soon undertake to remedy such a situation. Also overcrowding, averaging 3.94 persons per room, would call for preventive measures. An average rent of Ltq. 2.57 ($2.06) per month for single-room dwellings does not strike the European as excessive. Compare it with the average income Ltq. 5.17 ($4.14) per month among these families of widows, and one realizes the difficulty of their meeting that expense. The housing problem has not been studied in this survey and it is not the purpose of this paragraph to offer a solution. But since it seems hopeless that the municipality should under-

take any constructive work in this direction, as Rome, for example, has recently undertaken to build sanitary shelters for the poor, it might be suggested that no better outlay for foreign philanthropic funds could possibly be conceived. The vast burnt areas with quantities of only half consumed materials and a city full of unemployed, invite both capital and *entrepreneur* ability to provide decent homes for thousands in need of them.

Next to housing, if not equally important, are the clothing and food lacks of the dependent widow and her children. The Constantinople College for Girls has recognized the importance of the general subject in establishing a department of Home Economics. The chair will be held by Mrs. Alice Peloubet Norton, formerly editor of the *Journal of Household Economics,* and a survey of food conditions in a few Case Committee families was undertaken by Mrs. Norton for this section. Much further study and the training of young women and young men along these lines are the only hope for the proper nourishment of the future generations.

Food and the home are not the only questions for education to consider. The first educational problem is to get the children into school. When out of over 1000 children in 400 homes only 60 per cent were in school after two years' efforts on the part of committee workers, it is clear that Church and State must speak with more authority on this subject, granted that they have schools available for the children to enter. That only 45 children, or about 4 per cent should be found at work is surprising only if one realizes that there is no work for such children except on the street or in the few openings for apprentices in trades and shops. Of the 93 children at home, less than 10 per cent, it must be realized that a few were below school age, although there are practically no children in war widows' families under five years.

The sections on Education and Children treat the general problems. It is for this section to struggle with these subjects only as they affect the children of the dependent widow. With her, education like everything else is first of all an economic problem. How can she pay for the books and paper, or in some cases even a tuition fee of 50 piasters ($.40) or a lira ($.80) a month? That sum bulks large against a monthly average income of Ltq. 5.17 ($4.14). What hope is there that a mother of three children with such an income can ever be independent of relief? Of 400 women in question, 241 followed absolutely untrained occupations, and 97 had no occupation at all. Hence only 62 or a little more than one sixth have any real occupation. Compared with their husbands, who followed definite trades of great variety and even professions, these women manifest the limited opportunities for their sex in pitiful fashion. Training the girls for different varieties of work would in time help solve the problem, although at present industrial conditions are such that even trained women can scarcely find employment.

At present the attempt of nearly every nationality to provide workshops for unemployed women is an indication of what might be done if the whole subject were carefully studied and organized. The Red Crescent, the Armenian Red Cross, and the Near East Relief efforts to put these workshops on a purely business basis are noteworthy. If experts developed the talent of the women for characteristic work and found a market for it, many more women would be employed both at home and in shops. This is the kind of work the women enjoy and feel that they can do without loss of prestige. It is not characteristic of Constantinople alone, that the forms of domestic service must be made more attractive before they will have any general following of capable women.

Nowhere are women with more than one child generally

able to support themselves. These, if any, are proper subjects for aid, public or private. The father who gives his life in the service of his country should be able to expect at least that his family will be safe from hunger and cold.

We have seen that the opportunities of widows and children for recreation along physical, mental, or spiritual lines are almost *nil*. Yet the imagination is fired by the possibilities of recreation which this city offers. The water front on all sides presents sites for baths and recreation piers unparalleled. The waterways to nearby islands invite excursions of every sort. The wonderful places of historic interest in and near the city offer a hundred occasions for instructive walks, such as in Germany one sees little students enjoying, their luncheon kits on their backs, and a good song leader and teacher somewhere in the group of eager boys. The sordid recreations of the city now so flourishing would, it seems, prove less attractive if games and sport and excursions and baths were freely available.

What part the Turkish Government would take in any such development, at the present time, is a foregone conclusion. If, however, the Government gave the permission, so indispensable a beginning for all things in the city, a start might be made by foreign agencies to exploit the city's wonderful amusement possibilities on behalf of the dependent as well as others. The part that the Government should assume for its own is that of establishing some general, more adequate aid, at least for war widows and orphans. Justice in the treatment of these women and children is one of the first requirements that must be made of a Mandatory Power or a reorganized State. No mother surely should have to place her child in an orphanage because of poverty. Rather, children in orphanages should be placed with their mothers wherever the home is a possible one, and government aid should be given to maintain the child in the home. The Government should also provide schools for all chil-

dren, with provision for industrial training as well as academic education, and should enforce attendance. Some free higher schools and colleges would contribute to the country's progress.

Because nearly everything in the nature of philanthropy has hitherto been undertaken by the religious bodies, it seems that, at least for the present, the best development could be looked for under those heads. Reference has already been made to the possible use of the Armenian Parochial Committee and the Synagogual Units as centers for the calling together and training of volunteers. In the Turkish religious organization the Sheikh-ul-Islam is at the head of a body of men called Softas who are set apart for a life of service to the poor. Although these men have until now been the strongest bulwark of conservatism, what could be accomplished by a group like this, if trained in modern methods and ideas, is a challenge to someone sufficiently versed in the language and customs of the country. The Evkaf, or Pious Foundation, if interested, could supply funds. The difficulties of dealing with such venerable and sacred institutions as this and the Greek Patriarchate, for example, are not unrecognized. But one can only point out the possible machinery. Time and change continue to operate on the most unchanging institutions.

If Church and State seem almost beyond the possibility of influencing at the present time in their policy toward dependency, at least one may hope that the development of modern agencies may be along modern lines. The excellent and rapid growth of the Armenian Red Cross is an example of what can be accomplished. Should wars ever cease, there is no reason why the Greek Red Cross should not become an equally important civil agency, in all the Greek districts in the city. The Turkish Red Crescent should take an equal part in Turkish districts. Perhaps the Jewish Central Committee could organize some similar

medical work, for it has been seen that the Jewish children are most in need of medical care. The fact that there is only one small but excellent hospital and clinic in only one district, may account for the large percentage of disease prevalent among the Jewish dependents. There are many excellent Jewish doctors and specialists and enterprising Jewish women to undertake this work.

It is certain that a centralized medical agency in each nationality will develop the medical work in the city. It has already done so. More difficult but no less urgent is the centralization of social agencies under one head. Foreign agencies working in the city, like the American Near East Relief, can foster this centralization by refusing to assist unconnected societies. Centralization implies whatever supervision, standardization, and expert accounting the best men or women in the nation have been able to attain. Of course if the central agency permits intrigue or dishonesty, the whole fabric is corrupted, but it is less likely that this would happen in one important body than in countless small independent units.

If one part for foreign aid is this of encouraging standardization of local agencies, another part, which has already been referred to, is that of leading the way in type institutions of the most needed character. The nursing service of the Near East Case Committee has attempted the third most necessary function of foreign aid, in the training of volunteers in each nationality for the labors of philanthropy. One hundred and twenty-seven native workers have assisted in this work for dependent widows and children. The supervision by only two Americans, and the number, 5000 to 10,000 children to be helped, have prevented good results so far as training of volunteers is concerned. These are but a beginning. If the American colleges would incorporate training courses in their departments of sociology, a better beginning might be made. In the last analysis, it

is always education and more education which is needed to improve conditions. The building up of a sound public opinion, as well as real conviction of the obligation to serve, must be the object of any true education. So the development of social and medical agencies must wait upon the type of education which is provided.

In conclusion, one can scarcely omit one last word on the subject of prevention. Dependent war widows would never have called for a survey if the war had not created this problem. The prevention of war, however, is not a subject to engage us at this time. What must engage us is the prevention of that injury to the body of citizens which widowhood implies unless real relief measures are taken. Justice to the widow is the very first necessity: enough to live on and to bring up her children on, not in orphanages but in their own home. Justice to full orphans may mean also foster homes and not orphanages for them, either. Justice to the widow means that she may find a decent clean home for a reasonable sum, with possibilities of work whereby she may earn at least a part of her necessary livelihood. A just government will provide schools, elementary and advanced, for all children, poor or rich, education of a practical and truly formative character, and will insist that children go to school and not be allowed to work until a certain minimum grade has been reached. Lastly, justice to the widow and orphans demands that she and they shall have a chance to develop body, mind, and spirit through recreation, mental and physical, and through the practice of a religion free from race hatreds, full of opportunities for service. The present survey shows how far from this ideal of justice are the current conditions in Constantinople.

X

ADULT DELINQUENCY

CHARLES TROWBRIDGE RIGGS

OUTLINE

PRELIMINARY

I. THE COURT SYSTEM: TURKISH COURTS
   1. Criminal Courts
   2. Civil Courts
   3. Commercial Courts
   4. Courts of Cassation or Appeal
   5. Sher'i Courts, of Religious Law

II. THE COURT SYSTEM: CONSULAR COURTS
   1. American Consular Court
   2. Other Consular Courts
   3. Mixed Courts for Commercial Cases

III. THE POLICE FORCE
   1. Turkish Police
      a. Organization and Relation to Government
      b. Number and Location of Police Districts
      c. Policemen: Number, Training, Efficiency, Salaries, etc.
   2. Inter-Allied Police
      a. Functions and Relation to Turkish Police
      b. Organization
      c. Distribution

IV. THE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM
   1. Police Courts
   2. Turkish Prisons
      a. Old or Sultan Ahmed Central Prison in Stamboul
      b. New Central Prison in Stamboul
      c. Pera Prison
      d. Scutari Prison
         Note on Opium Habit
   3. Inter-Allied Prisons
   4. Consular Jails
   5. Plans for the Future

V. PROSTITUTION
   1. Houses of Ill-Repute
   2. Inmates
   3. Non-Registered Prostitutes
   4. Shishli Hospital for Venereal Diseases

VI. CHARTS
   1. Statistical Report of Old Central Prison, Stamboul
   2. Statistical Report of New Central Prison, Stamboul
   3. Police Department Reports, July, 1919, to March, 1921
   4. Statistics of Public Houses

Preliminary

The problem of delinquency in Constantinople, as in so many other cities, has become much more complicated since the great war. This is due not alone to the general letting down of moral standards noticeable everywhere, but also to special causes operating here and not to such an extent elsewhere. First and most potent of these should be mentioned the large influx of refugees, of various nationalities and from various places, most of whom are without regular employment and many of them very poor. Both larceny and immorality are increased in this way, and very probably other crimes also. A second special cause is the continuance of a state of war, rendering the return to stable financial and business conditions impossible. Until commerce again opens up with Asia Minor and the Black Sea littoral, the employment problem will not be settled, and the temptations to business dishonesty will continue to be great.

A third special cause has been emphasized by some, namely, the divided responsibility for the policing of the city, which renders it impossible for the Turkish police to arrest foreigners and impracticable for the Allied police to arrest Ottoman subjects. Whatever truth there may be in this, is probably offset by the added impetus given to the Ottoman police by the aid and example of the Allied police, so that in the opinion of the writer this fact has little bearing on the prevalence of crime.

It should be added that in a city where an unusually international population is so strangely agitated by nationalistic feeling and jealousy, the task of keeping order is no easy matter. Many crimes of violence classed as civil are

in reality political in their background; and this is bound to be so in unusual proportion until the future of the city is settled. Under existing conditions we should be grateful for the measure of quiet we enjoy.

I. The Court System: The Turkish Courts

Turkish law is based on the Napoleonic Code. The Criminal Code, in its latest revision, was adopted in May, 1911, and consists of 265 sections.

Turkish criminal law recognizes three categories of violation of law: *Kabahat,* or fault; *Jounha,* or offense; and *Jinayet,* or crime. These are in general punishable respectively by terms of imprisonment of twenty-four hours to one week, one week to three years, and three years to "101 years," which is the term used for a life sentence—or even the death penalty.

Of ordinary courts there are four varieties:—Criminal, Commercial, Civil, and Courts of Appeal. There are also the Sher'i, or Religious Courts, where the standard is Moslem law based on the Koran and Moslem tradition; and there are the Courts-martial, which are beyond the scope of the present study.

1. Criminal Courts

a. Soulh Mahkemesi, or Courts of Compromise, each presided over by a Justice of the Peace, where an attempt is made to settle questions without recourse to the upper courts. Of these there is one connected with each police *merkez,* or center; it answers to a police court. There are 30 such centers, of which 13 are in Stamboul, 10 dependent on Pera, and 7 dependent on Scutari. Each has a *Soulh Hakimi,* or Justice of the Peace, and an assistant, with salaries respectively about $1250 and $750 per annum.

b. Bidayet Jeza Mahkemesi, or Criminal Court of First

Instance. This and the following courts are all located in the Department of Justice, next to the Mosque of St. Sophia. There is no such thing in the Turkish system as trial by jury; but each court has more than one Judge, the number increasing with the grade of the court. The procedure is quite similar to that in European courts; witnesses are sworn on either Koran, Old Testament, or New Testament according as they are Moslem, Jew, or Christian. In this court, there are a presiding Judge and two assistant Judges. The President receives a salary of about $2000 and the assistants $1250 each.

c. Instinaf Jounha Mahkemesi, or Criminal Court of Appeal for lesser cases. Here there is a Presiding Judge and four assistants (Mouavin); their salaries are $3000 and $1500 respectively.

d. Jinayet Mahkemesi, or Highest Criminal Court. Here there is a Presiding Judge and four assistants (Mouavin) their salaries are $3500 and $1750 respectively.

2. Civil or Houkouk Courts

These have jurisdiction in ordinary civil suits not distinctively commercial in character, like non-payment of rents, etc.

a. Bidayet Houkouk Mahkemesi, or Civil Court of First Instance. It has a Presiding Judge and two assistants; salaries, $2000 and $1250, respectively.

b. Istinaf Houkouk Mahkemesi, or Civil Court of Appeal. It has a Presiding Judge and four assistants; salaries, $3000 and $1500 respectively.

3. Commercial or Tidjaret Courts

These have jurisdiction in business cases.

a. Tidjaret-i-Bahrie, or Maritime Court, with jurisdiction in all cases involving shipping and maritime trade or

accidents at sea. It has a Presiding Judge and two assistants; salaries, $1750 and $1250 respectively.

b. Ikindji Tidjaret Mahkemesi, or Second Commercial Court, with jurisdiction over all other commercial suits. It has a Presiding Judge and two assistants; salaries, $1750 and $1250 respectively.

c. Istinaf Tidjaret Mahkemesi, or Commercial Court of Appeal. It has a Presiding Judge and four assistants; salaries $2500 and $2000 respectively.

4. Courts of Cassation or Mahkeme-i-Temiz

These are the highest Courts of Appeal, to which are referred cases appealed from the *Jinayet, Istinaf Houkouk,* and *Istinaf Tidjaret* Courts. There are two of them, each with a Presiding Judge and six assistants;

a. Temiz-i-Jera, or Criminal Court of Appeal.

b. Temiz-i-Houkouk, or Civil Court of Appeal. The *Istida Dairesi* is a bureau which examines the appeals from the *Soulh, Jounha,* or other Courts, to see that they are in correct form.

5. Sher'i Courts, or Courts of Religious Law

Since matters of marriage and divorce, and consequently of inheritance, are not on the same basis in Moslem and non-Moslem communities, these questions are regulated for the Moslems in the *Sher'i,* or Religious Law, Courts. These courts are twelve for Constantinople, situated in the main sections of the city. Any appeal from these courts must be taken to the Central Court at the Fetva-Khané near the Mosque of Suleimanie, in the Headquarters of the Sheikh-ul-Islam.

a. Judges. Each of the twelve courts consists of a single Judge, who decides all cases alone. These Judges are appointed by the Sheikh-ul-Islam. They receive a salary of nominally $1320 and $1584 per year for the two grades of

judge; but with the depreciated currency of to-day the salary has not been made up to this amount, but is less than $1000 per year. In the Central Court, the Sheikh-ul-Islam himself presides.

b. Jurisdiction. Sher'i Courts have no jurisdiction in any criminal cases, and in civil cases, only where questions of inheritance are involved. In such cases the civil courts refer the matter in specific details to the religious courts. The Sher'i Courts have jurisdiction in all cases of Moslems in (1) Marriage and Divorce; (2) Inheritance.

Breaches of religious laws like violation of the Ramazan fast, etc., are punished directly by the police under orders from the Sher'i Courts. These courts have sometimes issued orders to the police to administer fifty lashes to anyone caught eating during Ramazan by day. The Sher'i Courts have no special police; they simply pass judgment, leaving penalties to civil courts.

II. The Court System: The Consular Courts

1. The American Consular Court

Connected with the Consulate-General of the United States is a Court, the office of Consul-General at Constantinople carrying with it also that of Judge of the Consular Court. With the Judge are associated in the trial of cases two other American Associates, appointed by the Judge for the purpose. There is also a Marshal, whose duty it is to secure the presence of the prisoner and such witnesses as may be required.

The Consular Court has jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases that may arise as between American citizens residing in this city. Further, the United States does not allow an American citizen to appear as a defendant in a Turkish Court in a criminal case, but insists on the right

of every American charged with a criminal offense to be tried in his own court. Most of the cases, however, appearing in the Consular Court are cases between American citizens. There have been within the past two years several cases of larceny, of disorderly conduct, of breach of contract, cases involving bills of lading, etc. Most of these have to do more or less directly with the American shipping which has so multiplied in this harbor during this time. The code of law used is based on the laws of the District of Columbia.

2. Other Consular Courts

Each country enjoying extra-territorial privileges, or the benefit of the Capitulations, is entitled to its own Consular Courts. The ones actually now functioning are those of France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Greece. In general the system is like that of the United States, but the other nations have yielded to the Turkish Government on the matter of having their nationals tried in Turkish Courts when defendants in criminal cases. This was true before the war. The peace conditions have not yet been reëstablished, and such cases are not yet given to Turkish Courts again.

3. Mixed Courts for Commercial Cases

Previous to the war, when there was a case where an American citizen was involved in a suit with an Ottoman subject, in a commercial case, the matter was tried in the Turkish Commercial Courts, before a mixed tribunal, composed of three judges of the Turkish Court together with two American assessors appointed by the Consul-General, the Dragoman of the American Consulate-General also being present. The sentence imposed must be such as to secure the assent of the American assessors, or it was not considered binding. Similar arrangements were in vogue

for the subjects of each other country enjoying Capitulatory Rights.

Since the war, this system has not been resumed.

III. The Police Force

1. The Turkish Police

a. Organization and Relation to Government

The Turkish Police Department is under the Ministry of Interior, and is under the direction of Hassan Tahsin Bey,[1] Director-General, the General Headquarters being at Shahin Pasha Hotel, Sirkedji, Stamboul. There is a staff of thirty officials at the General Headquarters, divided into four sections—Personnel, Secret Service, Public Security, and Identifications.

The appointment and removal of police officials is in the hands of the Director-General, Tahsin-Bey, who is responsible to the Minister of Interior.

b. Number and Location of Police Districts

There are thirty-two Central Police Stations or *Merkez,* divided geographically into three sections—those of Stamboul, Pera, and Scutari.

Stamboul		*Pera*		*Scutari*	
Emin Eunü	104	Galata	118	Scutari	89
St. Sophia	81	Pera	126	Iskele (Wharf)	73
Oun Kapan	84	Taxim	92	Kadi Keuy	109
Fanar	52	Kasim Pasha	78	Chinili	66
Kara Geumrük	93	Dolab Dere	57	Kizil Toprak	55
Fatih	77	Pangalti	84	Erenkeuy	64
Bayazid	70	Haskeuy	27	Beikoz	59
Ak Serai	73	Beshiktash	118	Adalar (Islands)	
Koum Kapou	54	Arnaoutkeuy	81		
Psamatia	84	Beuyükdere	83		
Shehir Emini	64	Deniz	111		
Eyoub	77				
Makrikeuy	70				

[1] Since removed from office.

Besides these, there are two sub-stations or secondary central stations, those of Bab-i-Ali (Stamboul the Sublime Porte) and Haidar Pasha (at the Railway) on the Asiatic side.

The figures represent the approximate staff attached to each Merkez, the number varying somewhat from time to time.

c. Policemen: Number, Training, Efficiency

(1) Regular Police: Central Office		31
Chief Commissaires (Ser-Kommiser)		43
Sub-Commissaires		48
Assistants (Mouvin)		236
Policemen		2812
Total		3170
(2) Civil or Secret Service Police:		
Chiefs	7	
1st class	23	
2nd class	31	
3rd class	234	
Information Service	5	
Total	300	
Grand Total		3470

(3) Training. About ten years ago a School for Police was started, and is still continued, under the care of Ghalib Bey, a man of thirteen years' experience in the police service. Here from ninety to one hundred men are given a three months' training, their places being taken at the end of that time by another set for another three months. They are given courses in the principles of justice, in criminal law, methods of conducting trials, police regulations, international law in its police aspects, first aid, gymnastics and health care, drill of various sorts, use of telegraph and telephone, etc., also dactylography and physiognomy and

the elements of anthropology. These men are new candidates for the service, as well as those already in service who have not had an ordinary education. They are selected by the Chief of Police, and pass examinations both on entrance and on completing the course. They may be expelled from the school and from the service for drunkenness or persistent unexcused absences or bad conduct.

The students in the school have thus far all been Turks; in fact, as far as can be learned, all Turkish Police are Turks. The Director of the School says he is in favor of admitting men of all races.

Complaint has been made, and apparently with considerable justice, that the course in the school is too theoretical, without embracing those topics that would be of most practical use to fit men for actual service. For instance, present-day criminal conditions in the city are not studied. Methods of preventing crime, and of watching notorious criminals, and the special characteristics of the various classes and races, are not studied.

The American Y. M. C. A. has been introducing into the school modern methods in gymnastics and games, with the double result of securing better physical bearing in the men and promoting better relations between them and men of different race and faith. This is very much appreciated by the management.

(4) Efficiency. The Chief of Police himself states that the great danger for the police of this city is the taking of bribes. That this practice is fairly common is attested from other sources; and there seems to be evidence that many criminals get away from justice by this means. On the other hand, the pay of the police has been increased since the war, to meet the greater cost of living, and the Allied police authorities see to it that these salaries are paid regularly. This has had its effect in increasing efficiency as compared with the pre-war times.

(5) Salaries

Grade	*Salaries* (Per Mo.)	*Pre-war* (Gold)	*U. S.*	*Now* (Paper)	*U. S.*
Policeman		Ltq. 4.00	$17.60	Ltq. 38.50	$30.80
Commissaire Mouavini (Asst. Sergeant)		6.00	26.40	44.00	35.20
2nd Commissaire (2nd Sergeant)		8.00	35.20	52.00	41.60
1st Commissaire (1st Sergeant)		10.00	44.00	60.00	48.00
Merkez Me'mourou (Station Officer)		15.00	66.00	67.00	53.60
1st Grade Merkez M (1st Grade Officer)		17.50	77.00	69.00	55.20

(6) Warrants for Arrest or Search. No warrants are needed by a policeman for arresting a Turkish subject, for any cause whatever; but a warrant is required by law for the searching of a house. No foreigner is exempt from arrest in case of sudden emergency or crime of violence committed; but every arrest of a foreigner must immediately be made known to the consular or police authorities of his nation, and the prisoner turned over as required. The Turkish Police are not permitted to search the house of a foreigner unless with the consent of his government.

(7) Pensions. There is a system of pensions for disabled policemen, and for the families of those that die in service. It is described by the Director-General as insufficient, owing to shortage of funds. In the efficiency records kept for the police, experience, intelligence, and literacy are taken into account; but in the pensions given, not enough attention is paid to the grade of efficiency attained. In short, as Hassan Tahsin Bey expressed it, there are neither sufficient rewards nor sufficient punishments.

2. Inter-Allied Police

a. Functions and Relation to Turkish Police

The Inter-Allied Police have both military and civil functions; they are charged with the duty of seeing that

the provisions of martial law are observed by every nationality in the city; but their civil authority is limited to the subjects or citizens of Allied countries. They coöperate with the Turkish Police in securing the application of traffic regulations and keeping order in the streets; the Allied police authorities see to it that the salaries of the Turkish Police are paid regularly and that they maintain a certain degree of efficiency; but otherwise their jurisdiction is limited to the foreign population.

b. Organization

The Italian, French, and British sections of the Inter-Allied Police are each under its own officers and management; but all are united under Colonel Ballard, President of the Inter-Allied Police Commission.

For the purpose of the Inter-Allied Police, the city is divided into six sectors: Pera, Galata, Shishli, Stamboul I (St. Sophia), Stamboul II (Bayazid), and Scutari. The central office is in Pera, Rue Cabristan, in the former Hotel Kroecker; there are branch stations in Galata, at Arabian Han, and in Stamboul, opposite the Public Debt Building, also in Scutari.

c. Distribution

Sector	*British*	*French*	*Italian*
Pera	24	27	17
Galata	27	12	..
Shishli	..	..	17
Stamboul I	9	46	8
Stamboul II	..	14	10
Scutari (Incl. Kadikeuy & Moda)	7	..	41

Total: 259 Officers and Policemen (April 23, 1921).

IV. The Correctional System

1. Police Courts

Persons arrested by the Turkish Police are first taken to the nearest police station, and, as soon as their case is heard by the Commissaire in charge, they are taken to the Merkez, or Center, of the District, where there is a trial and imprisonment, the prisoner is sent to a Tevkif-Hané, or detention place, to await trial. Of these there are three; one each in Stamboul, Pera and Scutari. These detention places or jails are the local prisons also, so that persons awaiting trial are generally in the same ward or guard-room as those already condemned to short terms.

2. Turkish Prisons

a. Old or Sultan Ahmed Central Prison in Stamboul

Facing the ancient Hippodrome, directly opposite the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed, is the group of buildings known as the Sultan Ahmed Prison, which for centuries past has served as the main prison for the city. It is in the heart of the residence section of the old city. Previous to the erection of the new prison, near the Department of Justice, this prison was usually overcrowded; and at present its population is far beyond what would be considered its healthful capacity. Here were found, on March 19, 1921, 748 prisoners, all males, of whom some 72 were in the separate division for boys, their ages ranging from fifteen to twenty-one.

Divisions: The main bulk of the prisoners are in two sections, of approximately 250 and 500 respectively, each having a common yard, and being lodged in barracks or rooms opening on this. These main buildings are stated to date back to the times of the Janissaries, who flourished

from 1360 to 1826, and to be about 600 years old. Parts of them certainly appear to bear this out. They were used in those days for the barracks of the Marines.

In the smaller of the two main sections, we found at our visit about 218 prisoners, quartered in two rooms, each about 100 by 25 feet, with ceilings some 15 feet high, each with four small windows. These are neither sufficiently lighted nor sanitary in their appointments. The men sleep in two rows with an aisle between, and about as thick as the beds can be placed. The prisoners in this building are in general those with lighter sentences, the terms varying from six to eighteen months. Nationalities are mixed in an interesting conglomerate—an Arab from Yemen, a Greek from Adrianople, a Maltese, a Syrian, and others in one group. In one of these rooms, was a man with a genius for decoration; he had constructed out of prison bread a number of miniature deer, geese, dogs, and other animals, placing them on a garden box with real grass growing in it. This rare instance of any occupation for any of the prisoners deserves to be mentioned.

This same building contains also small rooms for well-behaved cases who have thereby earned special privileges. Several such men are serving long sentences, for murder, etc., but for good behavior are placed from three to six in a room. Some of these rooms were quite comfortable looking, with pictures on the walls, and in some instances with reading matter.

Indiscriminate Herding: Neither here nor anywhere in the prison is there any effort to keep prisoners apart. They are thrown together all the time, and have free access to the common yard apparently whenever they like. Thus the hardened criminal has all the chance he desires to corrupt those who may be perfectly innocent and under mistaken condemnation to a short term.

Opening out on the larger of the two yards were two

main wards. One of them was formerly the storage room for ammunition; it is about 100 by 30 feet and the ceiling is high, at least 30 feet. It is quite dark, with only small windows. Eighty-two men were here, most of them in for long sentences, some for life—or, as the Turkish sentence reads, for 101 years. Among them, however, were some serving short sentences. About eighteen of these men are quartered in a gallery, above the main floor, and their lot is somewhat better; for the floor itself is damp and quite unhealthful. This was the only place where any iron bedsteads were found, aside from the private rooms. Were it not for these bedsteads, all the inmates would certainly suffer with rheumatism, if nothing worse. In every other ward, the men sleep on the floor, the Government furnishing only a thin blanket or mat to put under them. If they or their friends can furnish mattresses or blankets or quilts to cover them, they are fortunate.

The Black Hole: The room characterized by the Chief Warden as the worst of all is L-shaped, the two wings of about the same length; and opening into these two long corridors are fourteen square cells, each twelve feet square, with dome ceilings, and the very little light reaching them comes from a single window into the main corridor—which itself is none too light even on a bright day. Each corridor is about 300 feet by 20, yet there are but six small windows for each, and nearly all were shut on the day of our visit, to keep out the cold but fresh air. In each of the small cells, seven men make their home. Their condition is most pitiable. Here again, men serving all lengths of sentence are mingled. About 300 prisoners are in this place.

It should be added that this section, like all others in the prison, is fitted with electric lights, which were turned on for our benefit.

Boys' Department: The boys, of from fourteen to

twenty-one, are in a smaller building, with upper and lower rooms of the same size, each about 75 by 18 feet, fairly well lighted, with a very small courtyard for exercise. Here are several boys under sentence for murder, even one only fifteen years old; several also for sexual crimes; many for larceny; and several had been sentenced more than once. All are not only mingled indiscriminately, but in such cramped quarters that it seems impossible for any boy to come through without having become a hardened criminal.

Here, as everywhere in the prison, the inmates were hardly decently clothed, most of them being in rags and with very insufficient underclothing and many of them barefoot, either with or without clogs. The prison management furnishes no clothes whatever. Those prisoners who have friends or relatives depend on them to keep them supplied; while for the most desperate cases who are friendless, an appeal is sometimes made, we were assured, for cast-off clothing to hide their nakedness. The clothing certainly looked cast-off, and it hid their nakedness only partially.

Bath: Once in two weeks the whole prison population is put through the Turkish bath, in batches of sixteen to twenty, since the bath is none too large. It takes about four days to bathe the whole number, each batch being allowed about half an hour. While the man is bathing, his clothing is said to be put through a delousing machine; but of the machine we saw nothing.

Hospital: The prison hospital is a modern frame structure, fairly well equipped with beds, bedding, and necessaries, and capable of holding from twenty-five to thirty men. At the time of this visit, there were ten men in the general ward, eight in the venereal ward, and four in the tubercular ward. The warden informed us that if any case of contagious disease appears, it is sent to one of the city hospitals, as there are no accommodations for such here.

Only the cases that involve lying in bed are brought here, those who are able to sit up are treated in the wards or barracks of the prison. There is a doctor, who comes from outside every day, also a surgeon, an apothecary, and a nurse appointed for this prison hospital. No hospital clothes or pajamas are provided; the sick occupy the beds dressed in whatever rags they may possess.

On a later visit, we saw at the hospital a man serving a life sentence for murder, who is feeble-minded and has to be watched. There is no special hospital or prison for such in the city.

On this later visit, we were shown the quarters which were formerly used for women, and had just been opened to younger offenders. Here we saw twenty-two boys, all in for short terms. The rooms are lighter and airier than any others in the whole institution.

Guards: To preserve order in this prison, there are but twenty-eight guards, of whom usually about eight are away on leave. Naturally twenty men are far too small a number to guard 750 or 800 inmates, especially when these have every opportunity to consult and conspire together unhindered in the great yard. Occasionally trouble has broken out—though we did not learn this from the prison authorities—and gendarmes from without are hurriedly summoned. The warden told us there had been but two escapes from the prison during the year, both of them persons who had been allowed out of the walls for work.

We were assured by the warden that corporal punishment is not allowed by law; but this is denied by others. The only methods of punishment acknowledged for insubordination of any sort are a lengthening of the sentence or "solitary confinement" in a separate cell or building. This is a shed approximately 40 by 18 feet in size, with the only windows high above the ground, in a yard separated from

the rest of the prisoners; and here as many as four persons are sometimes given "solitary confinement" together; but at the time of this visit, the place was empty.

Employment: The form of sentence in the case of long or severe sentences is often for so many years "with hard labor." The warden confessed, however, that there was no provision whatever for the hard labor, and that with the exception of a very few professional men who work for a part of day, nobody had anything to do in the form of regular employment. The prisoners do their own washing and cleaning, carry the food around to the various barracks, where it is eaten—there is no dining-room whatever—and do the menial work; but most of them sit idle all day, save as that well-known personage keeps them busy who "finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." We were shown the workshop, where five or six men were making mangals, or braziers, for cooking purposes. These sell for one lira ($.80); the materials cost about half that sum, and the prison authorities receive 20 per cent of the profit, leaving about forty piasters ($.32) theoretically for the workman, this being deposited to his credit. From other sources, however, we learned that very often this does not reach the prisoner, either in cash or in credit. There were others making window-frames and doing other carpentry; also in another room four or five men making shoes and one was doing tailoring—a man serving ten years for murder. The officials told us the men worked six hours a day if they wished; but the men say they are allowed to be there only about three hours. Materials and implements must be furnished by the men themselves.

Physical and Moral Welfare: Samples of prison fare, both for ordinary prisoners and the sick on special diet, were shown us, and were well cooked and appetizing. The bread also is fair in quality. It is baked in ovens outside, there being no facilities in the prison for baking.

The amounts assigned for daily consumption are as follows:

Bread	960 grams	The following vegetables in rotation or others according to season:	
Vegetable	225 "	*Boulghour*	250 grams
Olive Oil	30 "	Beans	128 "
Onions	30 "	Rice	210 "
Salt	12 "	Fresh Vegetables	320 "
Relishes	12 "		

(Meat, once a week, 192 grams)

Also, for washing, 150 grams soap each fortnight.

The heating of the barracks is mainly by charcoal mangals, though in one we saw two stoves for coal or wood. Virtually all the living quarters are lit at night by electricity; this makes some of these places better lighted by night than by day, though even then hardly enough to read by.

There is a mosque for the Moslem inmates, and a church or chapel for Christian service; a Greek and an Armenian priest come once a week, and a Moslem *hodja* daily. These holy places are tiny, considering the prison population; but attendance is purely voluntary, and we were assured that the accommodations were quite sufficient.

Before leaving the place, one of the American visitors, a clergyman (though the warden was not aware of this) was asked to say a few words to encourage the prisoners. It was a most unusual opportunity, and an interesting audience to address. He spoke to them of the fact that, though they had been sent there by human judges, their actual Judge was God Himself, before whom every heart was open, and from whose eyes nothing could be hid, and that it was to Him that they must give account; but that they should remember that God is love, and loves even the evil-doer, that He loves every one of them and longs for their salvation. The entire company that listened were most attentive; evidently they do not hear such words very often.

The Chief Warden of this prison is Emroullah Bey, who has been in this position only about five months.

STATISTICAL REPORT OF OLD CENTRAL PRISON, STAMBOUL

Year 1336-1920

Total number of prisoners			1530
Moslems			1098
Non-Moslems (Christians and Jews)			432
Literate, Moslems	402		
Non-Moslems	212		614
Single			1057
Married			473
Twenty-five years old or under			841
Over twenty-five			689
Crimes: Larceny	761		
Sodomy	10		
Wounding	94		
Murder	116		
Miscellaneous	549		1530
Hospital Report:			
Admitted			697
Recovered	488		
Improved	124		
Unimproved	35		
Died	6		
Transferred to 1337	27		
Venereal cases:		Moslems	130
		Non-Moslem	80
		Total	210
		Treated with neo-Salvarsan	170

b. New Central Prison in Stamboul

Site and Plan: The newly constructed Central Prison in Stamboul (not yet complete) is located back (south) of the Department of Justice, near Saint Sophia. It was designed by a Turkish architect, and seems admirably suited to its purpose, embodying as it does many of the most modern ideas about prisons. It consists of three floors besides the basement, and is solidly built of heavy masonry, with iron bars at all windows. Around it runs a yard, and around that, the outer wall of the premises. Guards stationed at the four corners can see the whole area. Besides the prison itself, there are quarters for the officials, and a mosque and a church, the latter not yet completed or ready for use.

The foundations are in for a separate building for women, to be isolated from the main building but accessible from the officials' quarters; but until this is constructed the women are occupying the officials' quarters, while the latter have rooms in the main building. The total capacity of the building is given as 400.

In the lower floor are dining-room accommodations (not finished off or used as yet) and storerooms for food. The kitchen is in a separate outhouse. Nothing in the line of dungeons was visible, nor are any of the prisoners kept in underground or dark rooms.

Just at the entrance on the main floor is the office of the doctor; and each prisoner when first brought in is given a medical examination. If any disease is suspected, he is kept in the quarantine rooms for ten days, before being allowed in the cells or wards. There is on the south side of the building a large airy room for a hospital; but it is as yet unused, and sick persons are kept in the rooms intended for recalcitrants, some of which are single cells, some double. The building was begun four years ago, but the money appropriated has been exhausted.

Prisoners: The total number of prisoners at the time of the visit was 246, of whom between 40 and 50 were women. The women are under a woman matron, and the ordinary Moslem precautions, such as giving previous notice and covering the faces of the women, are observed when the Chief Warden or any other man is admitted to the women's quarters. No separation of nationalities or religions was observed, either among men or among women.

Most of the prisoners were found in large rooms, from eight to twenty in a room. There is no idea of separate cells for each, except as a punishment for insubordination. The younger prisoners—from fifteen to twenty years old—are kept separate from the older men; but there appears to be no attempt to separate hardened criminals from neo-

phytes, nor those sentenced to long terms from those whose trial has not yet taken place. Those adjudged guilty of murders and grand larceny were found in the same room with those not yet tried.

Accommodations: The rooms all have high ceilings and appeared well ventilated, with plenty of window-space, though all windows seemed to be kept shut for fear of the cold (early in March). Each group of prisoners, however, was found to have a brazier of coals, and it was stated that an allowance of two kilograms ($4^2/_5$ pounds) of charcoal per day was given for each. This was not verified. The rooms were all fairly warm. A central heating plant with hot water pipes is among the plans for the building, but has not been installed for lack of funds. The excavation for the "calorifer" was shown us.

One room was occupied by three men sentenced by the court-martial, who appeared to have special privileges; but in other rooms those under sentence of court-martial and those sentenced by the civil courts were mingled. This was explained as irregularity, since it was stated that all persons from the court-martial were supposed to be in the military prison on the grounds of the Seraskeriat, or War Department.

The various rooms were not locked or fastened, and prisoners appeared to have the run of the corridors. Guards armed with rifles and bayonets stand on each floor, as well as outside of the building.

Food and Furnishings: Owing to the incompleteness of the dining-rooms, meals are now served in the prisoners' quarters, or in the corridors. Each prisoner is given a daily allowance of 960 grams (2⅛ pounds) of bread, of good quality, specimen of which was exhibited; also one hot meal per day, consisting of either thick soup, or beans, lentils or some other such vegetable; with meat once a week. The meal is served in large dishes, one for each six or

eight prisoners, a spoon or fork being allowed each person. The prisoners all looked well cared for, and apparently get enough to eat.

A start has been made in furnishing the prison with iron bedsteads, there are as yet only about fifty of these; the rest of the prisoners sleep on the floor. In theory, each bedstead is to have a mattress, a pillow, a sheet, pillow-slip, and two quilts or army blankets. In practice, not all the fifty beds have mattresses yet, nor do those who sleep on the floor have them; they have but one blanket under them, and one over them. We saw but one sheet and one pillow-slip in the prison—a sample in the future hospital.

Cleanliness and Godliness: The prison bath is a little gem of its kind, finished off in white marble, but has not yet been used, nor have the water connections been put in. Evidently it is not intended to give four hundred prisoners a daily bath, for it is built to accommodate six persons at a time. The prisoners do their own washing.

There is a mosque for the prisoners, which, through a separate entrance, is also available for the civilians of that district of the city. This was explained as due to the fact that, before the prison was built, there was a mosque on that spot, and the people were entitled to the use of one there. But the prisoners do not use it at the same hour with the civilians. Jewish prisoners also use the mosque for their services if they desire. A separate building has been erected for a church for the Christian prisoners, but the interior is still entirely unfinished. The interior of the mosque is prettily finished off in blue tiles and white plaster, with the names of the Moslem prophets, etc., inscribed on the tiles.

For the medical care of the prisoners, two doctors are detailed, who come on alternate days to examine any cases that call for care. A resident male nurse is constantly in attendance, but cases of illness do not appear to be num-

erous, to judge from the six cases in the sick bay at the date of the visit.

Plans: The Chief Warden, Ismail Hakki Bey, has many good ideas in connection with prison management, and evidently has studied modern methods. He plans to have a school for the prisoners, and also workshops, so that they will be taught trades as well as how to read and write. He also plans to have prison garb for all, so that at their admission they shall have a bath and put on this garb, their own clothing being taken away and kept in a storeroom till they are discharged. He wishes all to be given an hour's exercise daily in the courtyard. He also insists on the necessity of sufficient bedsteads and bedding as above outlined; and further desires the prison guards entirely disconnected from the city police force and given their own distinctive uniform. All these things depend on money, and this is not forthcoming. The Government has not even enough for the payment of salaries.

STATISTICAL REPORT OF NEW CENTRAL PRISON, STAMBOUL
Year 1336-1920

Total accused sent to prison 954

	Male	*Female*	*Total*
Moslems	642	70	712
Greeks	134	10	144
Armenians	74	8	82
Jews	15	1	16
Total	865	89	954

Released: Acquitted 276
On Bail ....
Other ways ....

Condemned and imprisoned 457

Charged with:

Larceny	556	Forgery	10
Murder	99	Pickpockets	8
Wounding	78	Abuse and Insult	6
Highway robbery	25	Arson	5
Fornication	23	Robbery	3
Swindling	20	Bribery	3
Beating	18	Insulting police	3
Pickpockets	36	Forbidden weapons	3
Adultery	14	False witness	3
Rape	14	Breach of trust	2
Embezzlement	12	Breach of peace	2
Drawing weapons	11		

HOSPITAL REPORT, NEW CENTRAL PRISON, STAMBOUL

Year 1336-1920

Total cases		287
Influenza	18	
Spanish Influenza	41	
Grippe	17	
Syphilis	78	
Gonorrhea	13	
Burns	27	
Stomach Troubles	24	
Tuberculosis	15	
Typhoid	15	
Pneumonia	13	
Malaria	21	
Epilepsy	5	
Left Hospital:		
Cured	222	
Died	2	
Unimproved	63	
Total		287

c. Pera Prison

Location: This old and dilapidated prison is next to the Lycée of Galata Serai, back of the Police Station of that district which faces the Grand' Rue. High buildings on three sides of it block off the sunshine; and the location in the midst of the business portion of the city is quite unsuitable.

Accommodations: Prisoners are accommodated in six rooms, and the theoretical capacity of the prison is 50 though at the time of the visit there were 59 there. Two rooms, each about 15 feet square, have ten occupants each, and with only one very small window, high up, letting in about two square feet of poor light and one square foot of air. Another, the largest room of all, is 50 by 8 feet, and has two similar windows of like size; and here 20 men stay. Another, about 21 by 15 feet, has also two windows, and only 8 inhabitants, making the proportion of light and air better. The best accommodations of all are those for

women, this room of 30 by 13 feet having four windows, opening on the sunnier side of the building.

Uses of Prison: No persons serving long sentences are kept in this prison; it is rather a place of confinement for those whose trial is not yet ended, or who are serving sentences of a few weeks. More than half of those we found there had their trials still pending; and among them were several who had been in this place from four to six months. The Pera prison serves the uses of Pera; but when anyone is convicted and sentenced to a term of any length, he is transferred to Stamboul, to one of the prisons there.

Causes of Arrest: By far the greater number here found were charged with larceny, while those under arrest for assault and for murder were approximately eight or nine each. In nearly half the cases, the prisoners on being asked why they were there, said it was a case of mistaken identity or of undeserved arrest, they not being guilty at all. This is perhaps the best line of defense for one not yet convicted.

Furnishings: There are said to be iron bedsteads for all prisoners, but at the time of our visit one room was without beds; they were reported to be in the hands of the repairer. One single piece of covering, either for the floor or to put over or under the prisoner on the bedstead, is furnished by the Government; any other such luxuries must be obtained from outside.

There is no bath attached to this prison; when persons are detained in it more than a month, they are sent to a neighboring public bath, under guard at the order of the doctor. The toilets were in fair condition, though the general odor of the place was not good.

There are no dining-room accommodations, but meals are served in the barracks or wards. The standard of meals is about what it is in the other prisons as before mentioned.

Several of the rooms seemed to be damp, but the warden

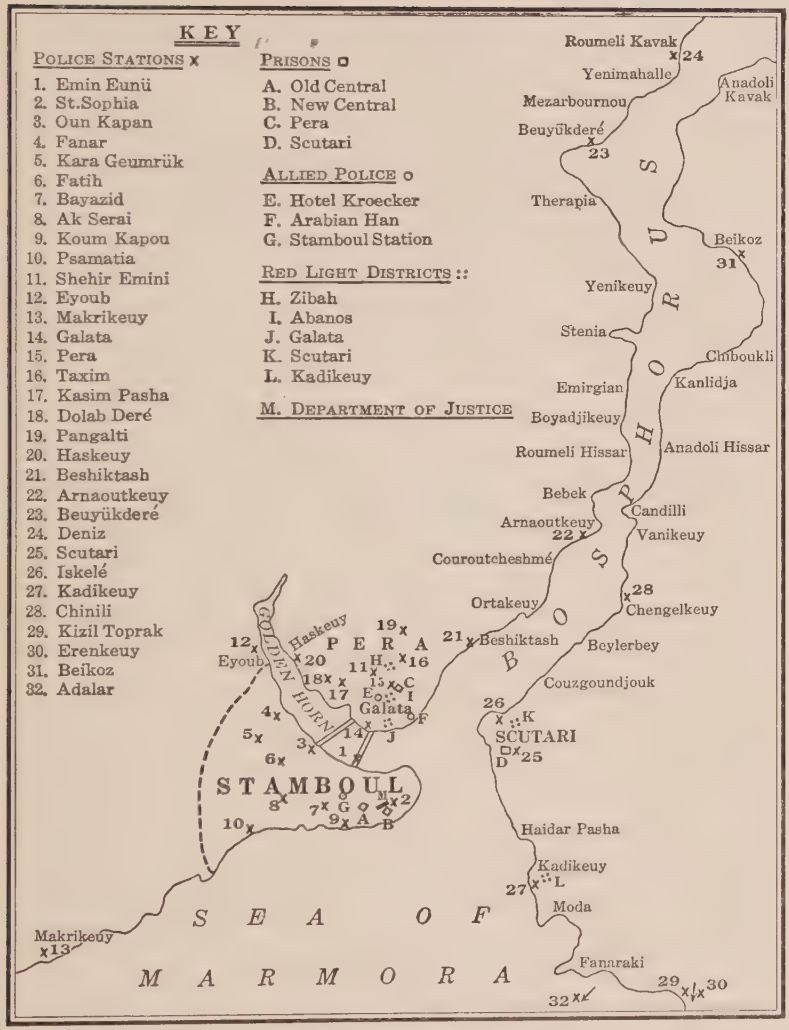
assured us this was due to their having been washed down with carbolic acid, and not to the natural dampness of the place.

The greatest desideratum of this place of detention is more light. The room especially where the boys are kept is pitifully dark. The two small windows are utterly inadequate at best; but the next building on this side is so close by that nearly all the light is cut off, even on the brightest of days. It was difficult for the inspectors to see to make notes, in here. And certainly two of the eight boys detained here were less than fifteen years old; they gave their ages as thirteen and fourteen, but looked under twelve.

These juvenile offenders, like all the rest, are allowed two hours per day in the open court beside the prison; but this is only 9 feet by 45 feet, and the adjacent houses are so high that the prisoners get almost no sun, and see nothing except the sky above.

The warden of the prison, Halid Bey, who has been in charge here for nine years, and has spent thirty years of his life in prison work, told us that in all the time he had known this prison there had been no improvement. Our guide, Mouzaffer Bey, who accompanied the investigators to each of the four prisons, said of this one: "May God save us from this prison. If a person of our antecedents should stay here one week, we would be ready for the hospital, and if we stayed one year, it would kill us." Mouzaffer Bey is the Assistant Attorney General at the Department of Justice.

Races: About two thousand prisoners pass through this jail per year. At the time of our visit, of the fifty-nine prisoners, twenty-five were Turks, thirteen Greeks, ten Armenians, four Russians, two Jews, and five scattering. The warden, however, informed us that in general the largest element of the population was Greek, corresponding



Adult Delinquency Map

to the preponderatingly Greek character of the population of Pera, and that the smallest number in proportion to inhabitants was from the Jews.

d. Scutari Prison

Building: This, the only prison building on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, was built during the war, and is modeled after prisons in Belgium. British troops were stationed here for some time after the Armistice, and, according to the jailer, had done Ltq. 40,000 ($32,000) worth of damage. The building is wired for electricity, but the connections are not yet in. When completed, the prison, like the new one at Stamboul, is to have men's and women's sections entirely separate. At present, the two women prisoners merely have a separate room with a woman guard.

Prisoners: One of these women prisoners is sentenced to one month for having led young girls into a life of vice! The other, a Greek, has been in the prison two months, accused of having killed her husband; but the authorities thought it would take several months longer before the trial was finished. She is seventeen years old.

The male prisoners at the time of the visit were 36 in number, confined to three rooms, each approximately 18 by 14 feet, and each lighted by a single window, from 3 by 2½ feet up to 6 by 4 feet. There were respectively 15, 11, and 10 prisoners in the three rooms. Most of these were Turks, but four in the first room were Armenians.

Records: These men were serving sentences ranging from four days to three months. This is a place intended only for short sentences. Of the 36, 26 were sentenced for larceny, 7 for assault, 2 for drunkenness, and 1 for breaking a government seal.

Regulations: All prisoners are allowed one hour per day in the prison yard, which is amply large for this small number of prisoners. Aside from this hour, they are con-

fined to their rooms. They all sleep on the floor, and if they wish bed covering, they must furnish it themselves as the prison furnishes simply floor covers.

There are two toilets, which are kept fairly clean. The prisoners are let out of their rooms by the guard to go there. There are sixteen guards in this prison.

Food: Prisoners receive the regulation number of calories—3000—per day. They receive one kilogram (2⅕ pounds) of bread each per day, and twice a day receive a dish of hot meat or beans or some other vegetable.

Separate Cells: The men's section has a number of cells for one or more people, amply large and each with its window.

Note: On the testimony of the warden and of prisoners themselves, one of the greatest evils in the Old Central Prison, and presumably in all the prisons, is the prevalence of the opium habit. The authorities do not succeed in keeping the drug out; it is brought in especially by Turkish women, whom it is extremely hard to search every time they go to see relatives; and many become addicts. The warden told of one man who had been convicted twenty-one times in twenty years, of various crimes, and was an incurable opium fiend.

3. Inter-Allied Prisons

Under the control of the Inter-Allied Police, there are now four or five temporary prisons. One is used by the Allies together, near the Public Debt Building in Stamboul. The French have one in the Koum Kapou quarter of Stamboul, near the Marmora. The British have prison quarters in Galata Tower, and also in Arabian Han, near the Galata Custom House.

A more permanent and suitable prison arrangement is being prepared by the British underneath the Headquarters of the Allied Police, in the former Hotel Kroecker, in

Pera. Here, several model cells have already been made ready, and the work is being pushed. This when completed will accommodate about one hundred men, and will be both sanitary and modern in every way, with ample yard space in the sunshine.

4. Consular Jails

In connection with the Consular Court of each foreign nationality is a jail for the detention of prisoners both during and after trial. These are entirely under the jurisdiction of the Judge of the Consular Court, and are for the nationals of that Consulate.

POLICE DEPARTMENT REPORTS

Total Arrests for Past Twenty-one Months

Charged with	*6 mos. July-Dec.,* 1919	*Year* 1920	*Jan.-Mar.,* 1921
Murder	79	110	21
Assault	2009	3539	752
Burglary	37	148	74
Larceny	2249	4568	1096
Stealing Animals	12	38	7
Theft with Violence	172	370	128
Banditry	...	5	...
Arson	14	9	7
Forgery	10	40	3
Rape and Adultery	69	46	21
Drawing Weapons	138	207	27
Resisting (insulting) Police	293	345	69
Vagrancy	16	22	1
Miscellaneous crimes	1932	3111	591
Totals	7030	12,558	2797
By Nationalities			
Moslems	4314	8255	2030
Greeks	2170	1300	624
Armenians	717	1328	287
Jews	250	491	81
All others	477	1005	222
Totals	7928	12,379	3244
By Sex			
Males	7226	10831	2892
Females	702	1548	352
Totals	7928	12,379	3244

5. Plans for the Future

Ground has been secured for a prison to be built outside the walls of the old city. It is recognized that the system of having the prisons in the crowded sections of the city is not a good one, and the plan is to have all of them removed outside. But how long it may take, especially in the present depleted condition of the municipal and national treasuries, to carry this out, is utterly uncertain.

V. Prostitution

Preliminary

In connection with this section of the Survey, acknowledgment is due to the Turkish Sanitary Bureau for its full-hearted and generous coöperation and courteous help.

The following persons have given us every possible assistance:

Director of the Sanitary Bureau . . Ibrahim Assaf Bey
Chief Doctor of the Bureau . . . . . Osman Bey
Inspector of the Sanitary Bureaus in the city . . . . . Feizullah Hassip Bey
Controller-Doctor of Galata District . . . . . Refik Bey
Controller-Doctor of Kadikeuy District . . . . . Kiani Bey
Controller-Doctor of Zibah District . . . . . Zia Bey
Secretary of Central Sanitary Bureau . . . . . Mehmed Emin Bey
Secretary of Galata Sanitary Bureau . . . . . Sidki Bey

The Secretary of the Central Sanitary Bureau by courtesy of the Director accompanied the investigators on their visits in the public houses in the Pera, Zibah, and Galata districts.

1. Houses of Ill Repute

There are two sorts of legally registered houses: Public Houses and Pensions. The former are where prostitutes live and ply their trade in the usual way. The latter are more like rendezvous houses; nearly all the girls live in their private houses, coming only at certain hours to them.

There are also private houses in Kassim Pasha visited by the poorer class of Moslems, and in Shishli visited by the richer class.

Besides these, there are about twenty to twenty-five hotels in different parts of the city, where there exists an agreement between the girls and the waiters so that at any time a room may be had for a rendezvous.

Location and Number: There are three main red-light districts in the city, two in Pera and one in Galata. The Abanos sub-district in Pera is three times as large as the Zibah sub-district, while the Galata district is much larger than these two combined. There is another smaller district in Scutari, in Bülbül-dere, and various other houses in many other parts of the city. The registered houses and pensions in the Pera and Galata districts belong to Christians and Jews; those in Scutari and Kadikeuy to Moslems. The following table shows the numbers and locations:

		Pera District					
		Abanos	*Zibah*	*Galata*	*Scutari*	*Kadikeuy*	*Totals*
No. of houses		59	23	77	10	6	175
Nationality of prop'r	Gr.	37	13	28	..	1	79
	Arm.	19	10	6	..	..	35
	Jew	3	..	42	..	..	45
	Hun.	..	..	1	..	..	1
	Egyp.	..	..	..	..	1	1
	Negro	..	..	..	2	..	2
	Bosn.	..	..	..	1	..	1
	Turk	..	..	..	7	4	11

To the Abanos sub-district belong the Abanos, Kütchük Gsasidji, Kilid, Lale, Foutsoudji, and Karnavoula Streets.

To the Zibah sub-district belong the Zibah, Kütchük Zibah, Pasha Bakal, and Ananique Streets. The Galata District includes the Zourefa, Beyzade, Sherbet-Hane, Kara-Oghlan, Badem, Sheftali, Oghlak, and Bülbül Streets. The Scutari houses are all in Bülbül-dere. The Kadikeuy houses are: four in Riza Pasha, one each in Yelgi Deyirmeni and Orta Streets. (Moda.)

Sanitary Conditions: The houses on Abanos Street, Pera, are of better class than the others. In the Zibah sub-district the conditions are such that it would be difficult to conceive worse. The sanitary conditions on Abanos are as good as can be expected under existing circumstances. There seems to be an attempt on the part of the keepers of these houses to keep the toilets clean. The rooms for the most part are clean and well furnished. The other streets drop from fair rank to plain dirty. Something should be done either to clean the houses on these streets or to close them up to the Allied soldiers and sailors.

In Galata, the best houses are in Sherbet-Hane Street. Those on the other streets might rightly be termed shacks. There is an out-of-bounds for British, French and Italian soldiers and sailors in this district. Even if the American sailors are allowed to visit here, they are seldom or never seen in the district.

The houses in the Scutari and Kadikeuy districts could not be visited since the proprietors and inmates are Moslem women. It is said they are very clean; the houses in Kadikeuy and Moda being of a better class than those in Scutari.

Management: The streets in the Galata district do not seem to be as well policed as those in Pera during the day, but the keepers report much activity among the Allied Police about closing time, which is 10 P.M. A number of the keepers have already been fined for keeping open a few minutes later than this hour. All keepers claim that this

greatly hurts their business, as that is just the time business is ready to begin.

No evidence of girls being kept in these houses against their will, save that a few expressed the desire to get away if they could.

The Turkish Sanitary Bureau inspects the houses regularly.

Liquor and Drugs: We hear indirectly that two houses on Abanos Street, Pera, sell drugs to any who have the money to buy. It is rumored that many American sailors use drugs. Wine and douzico, beer and sometimes champagne are on sale in several of the houses.

Pensions: There are also seventeen pensions registered as prostitute houses in the Central Sanitary Control Bureau, twelve of which were visited. Of these, nine are under Greek proprietors, two Armenian, one Italian. They are more like rendezvous houses; most of the girls found in them were living in private houses and coming there only at certain hours. All these pensions are in Pera.

2. Inmates

Number and Nationalities: Figures given by the Central Sanitary Bureau:

	Pera	*Galata*	*Stamboul*	*Kadikeuy and Scutari*	*Unclassified*
Christians and Jews.....	714	643	1	9	...
Moslems	56	...	134	168	446
Total	770	643	135	177	446

Grand Total—2171.

Those marked as unclassified are registered but not reporting to the Sanitary Bureau. Of those listed as Christian or Jewish, three hundred do not report; these 746 have disappeared, having left for other places, or been married, or found other employment.

The Director of the Sanitary Bureau states that there

are between 4000 and 4500 prostitutes in the city. The number seems to be growing.

In the houses visited in Pera and Galata, the nationalities were in 159 houses:

	Greek	*Armenian*	*Jew*	*Russian*	*Italian*	*Bulgarian*	*Pole*	*Roumanian*	*German*	*French*	*Total*
Abanos	147	49	12	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	214
Zibah	52	13	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	69
Galata	187	29	111	42	1	1	..	4	5	1	381
Totals	386	91	125	43	5	3	1	4	5	1	664
Per cent	58%	13.7%	18.8%	6.4%							

Official figures for registered girls in Galata district:

Greeks	335	Austrians	19
(28 Hellenic subjects, 307 Ottoman)		Roumanians	12
Russians	169	Italians	4
Jews	68	Bulgarians	2
Armenians	47	Serbians	2

American, French, German, Negro, 1 each.

Total 662.

Probably the number of Russians is greater than indicated. The official figures for Galata indicate over 25 per cent Russians; and the number seems to be growing.

In the twelve pensions visited, there were found twenty-two Greeks, eleven Armenians, four Spanish Jews, and one French girl.

Ages: All girls must be eighteen years old before they can be registered as prostitutes. Therefore the information given by the keepers and the girls themselves cannot at all be relied upon if the girl is a minor. In only a few cases did the girls give their ages as below eighteen. In the hospital at Shishli, we found girls as young as fourteen. Unregistered girls working in bars are anywhere from thirteen years old and up. Only a few girls were found anywhere above twenty-five years old; the oldest was one

of thirty-six, in Scutari. The average age is from nineteen to twenty-two, for those in regular houses and pensions.

Causes of Presence: As far as can be ascertained, the greater part of the girls go into this life because of poverty, although there are cases of girls who were ruined and forced into it.

Financial Arrangements: In the registered houses, the girls are usually paid one-half the fee received, and are given board and room. The fees run all the way from 15 piasters ($.12) a visit in some of the lower houses in Galata to 5 liras ($4) a visit in what is called the Yankee House in Pera and one other. In one of the private houses at Shishli, patronized by rich Moslems, the price is from 5 to 10 liras ($4 to $8) a visit. In these cases of private houses, the person rents her own lodgings. Prices in Pera run from 30 piasters ($.24) up. On the best streets the average is 1 lira ($.80), on the others, 50 piasters ($.40). In general the girls in Pera, Kadikeuy, and Moda are treated well and those in Galata fairly well, by the keepers.

Sanitary Inspection: All the girls are registered in the Turkish Central Sanitary Bureau, and have to present themselves once a week for examination. The Bureau is organized as indicated below:

1. Central Bureau.....	Pera	1 Chief Doctor, 1 Inspector Doctor
2. Examination Places..	Pera	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Zibah	1 Doctor, 1 Nurse
	Galata	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Stamboul	2 Doctors, 1 Nurse
	Kadikeuy	1 Doctor, 1 Nurse
3. Treatment Places....	Galata, Stamboul, Kadikeuy, Beshiktash, Scutari, Yenikeuy	1 Doctor each

Each examination place has a recording secretary and from one to two agents who see that the girls come for examination at the proper time. If the girl refuses to come

to the examination place after she has been notified by the agent, the police bring pressure to bear on the girl and the proprietor that it may not happen again.

All girls when reported diseased are sent to the Shishli Hospital for venereal cases. There is also a special section in the hospital at Hasseki for women with venereal diseases. In case a girl is discharged from the Shishli Hospital who has had syphilis, the treatments are continued in the six treatment places.

At the Central Bureau, a Director, his secretary, and several clerks do the registration work. The chief doctor and inspection doctor supervise the examination and treatment places.

Each girl is given a registration book, a specimen copy of which is annexed, where must be kept the record of examinations.

All the examination places were visited personally. The doctors do the work very conscientiously. The best and cleanest places were found to be in Pera and Kadikeuy. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty girls are examined per day in Galata. In Kadikeuy during our visit there were eighteen girls examined.

The following chart shows the work done by the five examination places in the city:

GIRLS SENT TO THE HOSPITAL IN THREE MONTHS, DECEMBER, JANUARY AND FEBRUARY LAST

Place	*Gonorrhea*		*Syphilis*		*Chancre*		*Total*		*Remarks*
	Xns.	*Mosl.*	*Xns.*	*Mosl.*	*Xns.*	*Mosl.*	*Xns.*	*Mosl.*	
Pera	130	118	29	32	..	..	159	150	
Zibah	30	..	4	..	4	..	38	..	2 mos. only
Galata	108	..	34	..	..	..	142	..	
Kadikeuy	..	52	..	5	..	..	..	57	Nov., Dec., Jan.
Stamboul	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	11	Feb. 1-15

(Xns. = Christians. Mosl. = Moslems)

In Stamboul there were also thirty unregistered girls sent to the hospital in the time mentioned. The greater number

of these unregistered girls are under eighteen years of age, and therefore cannot be registered.

There were also in Kadikeuy during the same period twenty-three unregistered girls sent to the hospital; ten with gonorrhea, ten with syphilis, and three for observation.

Contents of Registration Books of Prostitutes

Page 1.	1. Name	5. Occupation	9. Hair	
	2. Father's Name	6. Nationality	10. Face	
	3. Age	7. Height	11. Nose	
	4. Country	8. Eyes	12. Chin	
			13. General Appearance	
Page 2.	1. Name of Proprietor		Remarks	
	2. Street			
	3. Number			
	4. Date of Entrance			
	5. Date of Leaving			
Pages 3-6.	1. Date of Examination		Remarks	
	2. Disease			
	3. Signature of doctor			

Space reserved for photograph

Girls in Bars and Cafés: A careful examination of the bars, etc., in various parts of the city gives the following results:

Pera District	.....	23	bars	with 97	girls
Galata "	.....	24	"	" 85	"
Top-hane"	.....	11	"	" 49	"

Thus we have a total of 58 bars with 231 girls as waitresses. Bars in Pera district are visited mostly by the Allied soldiers and sailors; those in Top-hane district by American and English soldiers and sailors. In the Pera district most of the girls are not registered, being anywhere from thirteen years old up. In the Galata district all the girls are registered. Most of the girls in all these bars have private rooms in near-by houses on the same street or neighboring streets. In Galata many of the girls are from registered prostitute houses.

There are also a few restaurants in Kadikeuy and Moda with mostly Russian girls as waitresses. Some of these girls

are registered as prostitutes in the Kadikeuy Examination Bureau. Once a month they have to go for their examination.

The girls from these cafés and bars bring their patrons to the rooms or houses where they live. This sort of life is frequently a preliminary to permanent life in a prostitute house. If any of the regular inmates of these houses has any ability as a singer or dancer, she is sure to be in demand as an attraction in the bar, and many patrons are picked up by the girls in this way.

3. Non-Registered Prostitutes

From the figures given on page 358, it appears that the number of regularly registered prostitutes is 2171, whereas the total number known to exist in the city is from 4000 to 4500. That is, there are probably more non-registered prostitutes than registered. A very large but unknown number of these are under eighteen years of age. There are also many who live in private houses and are not registered. The testimony of residents in Pera indicates that the moral life of that region is frightfully low. As far as investigation and statistics have shown, conditions in Stamboul are far better, although it is extremely difficult if not impossible to get all the facts regarding Moslem quarters or Turkish homes.

4. Shishli Hospital for Venereal Diseases [1]

A visit was paid in mid-January by two investigators to the Shishli Hospital for women. This building was formerly a Bulgarian boys' school, and was given for the purpose after the Armistice by the British authorities. This hospital is the first of its kind in Constantinople, dealing as it does with venereal diseases. Before the war there

[1] Burned to the ground since this was written.

were forty beds in Hasseki Hospital for cases of this kind. Enver Pasha opened a hospital for venereal diseases during the second year of the war; but when the English arrived, the hospital was transferred to the Bulgarian School.

The hospital is a large, two-storied affair, built entirely of wood, and stands apart from other buildings in the neighborhood, the nearest being the Bulgarian School. The interior consists of four large wards of 60 beds each, which are occupied by only gonorrhea patients, and a number of smaller wards used by both syphilis and gonorrhea patients.

In all there are 300 beds. On the day of our visit there were 223 patients who came from the public houses and from the streets. Each day there came into the hospital from fifteen to twenty patients and the like number are discharged. The cases remain from fourteen days to four months. This does not mean an entire cure in the case of syphilis, but only the cure of outside symptoms. A girl upon leaving the hospital is required to appear once a week before the Turkish Sanitary Inspection Bureau, where she is examined and receives treatment, in one of the six treatment places mentioned before.

The hospital has three examination rooms. In one four girls can be treated at once; in another, three; while the third room is reserved for the chief doctor to examine girls prior to their discharge from the hospital. The staff consists of a Chief Doctor, four doctors, seventeen nurses, two clerks.

The hospital is sadly lacking in equipment. In many cases there are no springs to the beds, simply wooden boards beneath excuses for mattresses. The sheeting is very old and dirty, and the blankets inadequate. There are no stoves in the wards, and the whole aspect is cheerless and comfortless. The girls stroll around in their everyday costumes, there being no special hospital garments. There are no books, and no kind of amusement is provided.

The dining-room is another revelation of misery. There are very few plates, cups, knives, or forks for the patients. Some of the girls eat from cups made from tin cans and drink from bottles.

The hospital fare is:

Breakfast	None
Dinner	¼ lb. bread, dried vegetables, small piece of meat
Supper	¼ lb. bread, dried vegetables, small piece of meat

There is no tea or coffee.

In addition to this unappetizing fare, the smell of the toilets permeates the air of the kitchen and the dining-room.

It is not surprising that when girls are sent here by the Sanitary Bureau, they weep and rebel.

The medical staff are in no way to blame for the poor condition of the hospital, as they also are victims of poor support. The doctors themselves receive salary only once every three months, and in order to exist, they work at private practice outside of hospital hours.

A great piece of service could be done for the city, for these poor unfortunate girls, and for humanity by helping materially and financially in this particular work.

There follows a chart furnished by the Chief Doctor of the hospital, which gives a good idea of the work they have done.

Attention is called to the fact revealed by the following chart, that the number of Moslems entering the hospital is 56 or 57 per cent of the whole, whereas the number of Moslem inmates in the licensed houses is indicated as comparatively very small. It has been impossible to trace the location of these Moslem girls, owing to the jealousy with which they are surrounded and safeguarded from non-Moslem eyes.

PATIENTS ENTERED AND DISCHARGED FROM THE SHISHLI HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN, IN FOUR YEARS

	Entered							*Discharged*						
	Christians			*Mussulmans*				*Christians*			*Mussulmans*			
	Gon.	*Sy.*	*Ch.*	*Gon.*	*Sy.*	*Ch.*	*Total*	*Gon.*	*Sy.*	*Ch.*	*Gon.*	*Sy.*	*Ch.*	*Total*
1917	543	553	...	674	742	...	2512	494	497	...	637	692	...	2320
1918	477	689	...	681	994	...	2841	463	606	...	629	846	...	2544
1919	712	618	167	1092	534	255	3378	749	611	132	1203	481	211	3387
1920	849	485	13	1259	507	19	3132	719	528	13	1217	318	29	2824
4 yrs.....	2581	2345	180	3706	2777	274	11,863	2425	2242	145	3686	2537	240	11,275

Location and Inmates of Public Houses

	Zourefa	Beyzade	Sherbet-hane	Kara Oghlen	Badem	Sheftali	Oghlak	Bulbul	Abanos	Kutchuk Yazidji	Kilid	Lale	Futchuji	Karna-voula	Zibah	Kütchük Zibah	Pasha Bakal	Ananik	Scutari	Kadikeuy & Moda	Totals
Houses	17	15	17	7	5	12	2	2	30	14	6	6	2	1	15	5	2	1	10	6	175
Greeks	10	5	4	2	4	1	1	1	20	7	4	3	2	1	8	4	1	..	..	1	79
Jews	5	8	13	3	1	11	..	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Armenians	2	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	8	7	2	2	..	..	7	1	1	..	..	..	35
Turks	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	4	12
Negroes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
Egyptians	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Magyars	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Inmates	90	51	97	39	32	57	8	7	111	38	24	32	6	3	43	17	7	2	43	21	728
Greeks	63	30	34	12	22	12	8	6	78	27	17	16	6	3	34	11	6	1	..	..	386
Jews	14	13	33	12	9	29	..	1	4	2	1	5	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	125
Armenians	9	2	8	5	1	4	..	..	26	9	5	9	..	..	9	2	1	1	..	..	91
Turks	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43	21	64
Russians	2	5	17	9	..	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Germans	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Italians	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
Roumanians	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Bulgarians	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
French	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Poles	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

XI

THE NATIVE SCHOOLS

FLOYD HENSON BLACK

OUTLINE

I. Introductory

II. Organization of Schools

III. Buildings and Equipment
1. Condition of Buildings
2. Water Supply
3. Cloakrooms and Toilets
4. Offices and Classrooms
5. Assembly Halls
6. Fire Equipment
7. Libraries
8. School Grounds

IV. Effect of Recent Wars

V. Pupils
1. Percentage in School
2. Illiteracy

VI. The Teachers
1. Men and Women Teachers
2. Part-time Teachers
3. Quality of Instruction
4. Preparation of Teachers
5. Normal Schools
6. Teachers' Institutes
7. Teachers' Unions
8. Supervision of Teaching
9. Salaries of Teachers

VII. Course of Study
1. Calendar
2. System of Marking
3. Recitations
4. Religious Instruction
5. Music
6. Domestic Science and Manual Training

VIII. Health and Sanitation
1. Medical Inspection
2. Undernourishment

IX. Financial Administration
1. Turkish Schools
2. Non-Turkish Schools
3. Fees in Boarding Schools
4. Average Cost

X. Suggestions for Improvement
1. Teachers
2. Normal Schools
3. Buildings and Equipment
4. Libraries
5. Compulsory Attendance
6. Evening Schools
7. Coöperation

XI. The "Medresé" or Religious School

XII. Representative Programs

XIII. Table of Teachers' Salaries

XIV. Foreign Schools
1. American
2. British
3. Italian
4. French

I. Introductory

The information which follows in this brief survey of the schools of Constantinople has been gathered by the writer, assisted by twelve volunteer workers who have given a few days each to visiting schools or to acquiring or translating reports concerning the schools of the city. Most of the work was done by three persons. The survey was made between December 1, 1920, and May 1, 1921. The writer himself visited representative schools of every grade and nationality. In all, fifty public and private schools were surveyed with the questionnaire which appears in the beginning of this report.

In thinking of the schools of Constantinople, as of any phase of the life of the city, one must constantly bear in mind the fact that socially the inhabitants of the city are divided into a number of distinct and separate national communities. Each lives very much to itself and supports its own religious and educational institutions. The four principal nationalities having their own school systems are the Turks, the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Jews. The Turkish schools are supported mainly by taxation, although there are small fees paid by students in nearly all schools. A few Turkish schools are supported by fees plus a government subsidy; some are private, supported altogether by tuition fees; and the religious schools are supported by the religious endowments. The schools of the non-Turkish communities are supported by tuition fees, by the gifts of individuals, and by church funds.

The Questionnaire

In the preparation of the questionnaire given below the questionnaire for schools of the Springfield Survey was used as the basis. Several useful suggestions were found in the questionnaire used in the section on schools of the Smyrna Survey. Other parts were added by the writer, and the whole adapted to the local situation in Constantinople.

Survey of a School

Answer every question. Visited by.....
Date .....

District or village.....
Name of School.....Nationality of School.....

I. General Equipment

A. Building

1. Material of building.....Painted.....
   Date of erection.....State of repair.....
2. Number of rooms.....Size of rooms.....
   Decoration.....Lighting.....
3. Method of heating.....Efficiency.....
4. Ventilation..... Temperature.....
   Average temperature for a week.....
5. Any artificial lighting.....
6. Teaching equipment. Globe.....Maps.....
   Blackboard.....Charts.....Musical instruments.....
7. Cloak rooms. Location.....Condition.....
8. Water supply. Source.....Drinking cups.....
   Wash rooms.....Condition.....
9. Toilets.....Inside or outside.....Condition.....
10. In general are buildings and grounds well kept.....
11. Are buildings adapted to school purposes.....
12. Remarks:

EDUCATIONAL

B. Grounds

1. Size.....Drainage.....General condition.....
2. Recreation facilities.....
3. What games are played.....

4. Are games supervised.....By whom.....
5. What time is allowed for recreation.....
6. Are there organized teams.....For what games.....
7. Percentage of children who take part in organized games.....
8. Remarks:

C. Value of grounds and buildings.....

II. CURRICULUM

A. Calendar.
   1. Length of school year.....Holidays.....
      Date of opening.....Of closing.....

B. Recitations.
   1. Length of recitation period.....No. of recitations a day.....a week.....

C. Examinations
   1. What examinations are given each year.....
      Written.....Oral.....

D. Studies
   1. Is any work given in the following subjects: Music.....
      Manual training.....Domestic Science.....
      Physical training.....
   2. How many hours devoted to religious instructions.....
      In what branches.....
      Are there any religious exercises with compulsory attendance.....How often.....

III. ENROLMENT

A. Enrolment. Boys.....Girls.....Total.....
   Average attendance.....

B. Age of pupils by grades (1).....(2).....(3).....
   (4).....(5).....(6).....(7).....(8).....

C. Number of students in class by grades (1).....(2).....
   (3).....(4).....(5).....(6).....(7).....
   (8).....

D. What records of students are kept.....
   System of marking.....
   Are reports sent home.....How often.....

E. What percentage of children under twelve are in school.....
What percentage between twelve and fifteen.....

F. Student organizations.
Literary..... Athletic..... National.....
Benevolent..... Religious..... Other.....

G. Remarks:

IV. ORGANIZATION AND SUPERVISION

A. Under what general organization is this school.....

B. Local organization
1. Is there a board of directors.....How many.....
How chosen.....
2. Is there a principal.....Man.....Woman.....
Supervisors of departments.....How many departments.....What are they.....

C. Is the school visited by a district supervisor or someone representing the Department of Education of the national government.....How often.....

D. Remarks:

V. TEACHING STAFF

A. Number of teachers. Male.....Female.....Total.....

B. General condition of teachers.
1. Number married.....Single.....
2. Number living in the school.....Outside.....
3. Average number hours of teaching a week.....
4. Meetings for teachers. Are there regular teachers' meetings.....How often.....Lectures for teachers.....Social gatherings.....Are there any other organizations of teachers for mutual improvement.....
5. General appearance of the teachers.....

C. Qualifications of teachers.
1. Fill in the following blank with several concrete cases.

Designation	Man or Woman	Age	Graduate of Gymnasium	Degree or Additional Study	Years of Experience
A					
B					
C					
D					
E					
F					

V. TEACHING STAFF (Continued)

D. Salaries.

1. Salary of principal.....Maximum salary of men.....Of women.....Minimum salary of men.....Of women..... Percentage of increase in salaries since 1914. State in dollars.....

E. Remarks:

VI. LIBRARY

A. Is there a school library.....

1. Number of volumes.....Reference books..... Standard of library.....
2. How is library supported.....Library fund..... How large.....How secured.....
3. Are the books loaned.....Read only in school.....
4. Is the library well used.....
5. General condition of library.....

B. Remarks:

VII. FINANCES

A. How is the school supported.....
B. Amount of tuition.....Total fee for boarding students.....Source and amount of other funds.....
C. Is there a carefully prepared budget.....
D. Average cost a year for each child.....
E. Source of original outlay for buildings and grounds.....
F. Remarks:

VIII. HEALTH PRECAUTIONS

A. Medical examination.
   1. Is there regular medical examination of each student.....
      Conducted by whom.....How often.....
   2. Is there examination of eyes.....Ears.....
      Throat..... Teeth.....Tonsils.....
      Of backward children.....
   3. What precautions are taken during epidemics.....

B. Fire precautions.
   1. Is there any fire equipment.....Fire drill.....
   2. Are the buildings so arranged as to be quickly vacated in case of fire.....

C. Personal appearance of pupils.
   1. Are clothes clean.....Hair cared for.....
      Teeth cared for.....

D. Is the situation of the school good as regards health.....

E. Is there a hospital.....Any other provision for the care of the sick.....

F. Are the children well nourished and normal in appearance.....

G. Remarks:

IX. THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

A. Is any work for the children of the community carried on outside the curriculum.....
   1. Is there a Boy Scout troop.....Any similar organization for girls.....
   2. Are there any evening classes for working boys and girls.....

B. Are there lectures or other meetings for parents.....
   What is the nature of these.....
   Meetings for mothers.....

C. Are any entertainments given for the community.....
   What kind.....

D. Do the parents visit the school or make any use of it.....

E. Is the building or grounds used for any other than school purposes.....If so, what.....

F. Remarks:

A weekly program showing the number of recitation periods devoted to each subject each week.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

	Years									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Algebra										
Arithmetic										
Geometry										
English										
French										
German										
Armenian										
Turkish										
Greek										
Botany										
Zoology										
Hygiene										
Geography										
Civics										
Music										
Manual Training										
Drawing										
Penmanship										
Object Lessons										
Religious Instruction										
History (National)										
History (General)										
Physical Training										
_____										
_____										
_____										
_____										
_____										

Name of school.....

Location..... Principal.....

Please note below any items of interest concerning the course of study which cannot be included in the schedule given above.

X. CONCLUSION

A. Take such pictures as may seem of value of buildings, grounds, classes. Also any useful samples of work done by the students.

B. What is the visitor's general impression of the work done in this school under the following heads: Efficiency of the teaching; progressiveness and ability of the teachers; the principal needs of the school. State briefly and concretely.

1. Turkish Schools

The Turkish schools are divided into religious and civil schools. The former represent the old system of education in Turkey. They have existed since the foundation of the empire. In Constantinople they date from the time of Sultan Mohammed II, the conqueror, who established a system of religious schools, called *medresés,* centering in the colleges built in connection with the great mosque completed in 1469 which bears the Conqueror's name. In these schools were trained the Mohammedan clergy, the teachers, the judges, and the literary men of the empire. These schools are now greatly reduced in numbers and influence. At present only the clergy and the judges of the religious courts are trained in them.

The Turkish public school system had its beginning toward the middle of the last century. The system is based on European models as regards both organization and curriculum. There is a compulsory school law which is not enforced. Two normal schools, one for men and one for women, together with the Turkish university, provide teachers for the schools of all grades.

2. Greek Schools

The Greek system of schools runs back to the Byzantine empire. It is claimed that one school, the Great National College in Phanar, has had a continuous existence since the

Photograph by T. J. Damon

Turkish Children Going Home from School

Photograph by Resne

A Class in a Turkish Girls' School

fourteenth century. The principal development of the Greek schools along modern lines has taken place in the last three quarters of a century. An attempt is made to provide schools for all the Greek children of the city. On the whole this is successfully accomplished. There is a complete system of both primary and secondary schools.

3. Armenian Schools

The first determined effort to establish schools for the Armenian inhabitants of the city was made by the Armenian patriarch John Golod, 1715–1741. From this beginning schools developed slowly. As in the case of the other nationalities, the main development of education among the Armenians has taken place within the last seventy-five years. At present almost every Armenian church has a school beside it. A determined effort is made to have every child in school at least long enough to learn how to read and write. No element in the population works more zealously to support and build up its schools. Few of the Armenian schools go beyond the sixth year. To the writer's knowledge only one secondary school goes as high as the twelfth year. Eight other schools offer some secondary classes, but none go above the tenth.

4. Jewish Schools

There is a large Jewish population in Constantinople which supports twenty-three schools. Only one of these is of secondary grade. In a few of the others some secondary school work is offered. In most of the schools, particularly those of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, the language of instruction is French. Turkish, ancient Hebrew, and occasionally other modern languages are taught. There are four schools for German-speaking Jews.

In the brief space allowed for the report upon the schools of the city it is impossible to take up the different systems

separately. Hence it will be necessary to consider the topics which follow in such a way as will apply to all the native schools, but with occasional specific references to particularly schools or systems. This can readily be done, since all the systems are essentially the same in organization and since there is a general uniformity of conditions. As compared with the schools of America the schools of Constantinople leave much to be desired. On the other hand, it must be remembered that most of the schools have been developed under peculiarly trying conditions. There is generally a high appreciation of education and eagerness to take advantage of such opportunities as are offered.

The following statistics were furnished by the educational authorities of each nationality. The first table gives the number of schools and the second, the number of pupils of each grade of school.

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS

	Primary	*Secondary*	*University*	*Special*
Turkish (public)	170	10 (boys) 5 (girls)	1	11
Turkish (private)	40	..	..	..
Total	210	15	1	11
Armenian	27	10	..	..
Jewish	22	1	..	..
Greek	82	10	..	1
Total schools	341	36	1	12

NUMBER OF PUPILS

	Primary	*Secondary*	*University*	*Special*
Turkish (public)	13,480 (boys) 10,631 (girls)	3984 1836	1679 (men) 75 (women)	1403 607
	24,111	5820	1754	2010
Turkish (private)	5,000 (mixed)			
Total	29,111			

There are in addition to the schools given above 21 medresés, or religious schools, in Constantinople with an

enrollment of 1000 pupils during the present year. Before the war there were 196 and the enrollment was about 10,000. All are Turkish.

Armenian

In the Armenian schools both primary and secondary grades are in the same building. In the official statistics no distinction is made between the two, and it has been impossible to learn the exact number in each division. Between ten and fifteen per cent of the total number are in the secondary grade. The total number of pupils in the Armenian schools is 8727.

Jewish

The total number of pupils in the Jewish schools is 7460. There is but one secondary school in which 320 pupils are enrolled. This number includes the primary pupils in the six lower grades.

Greek

	Primary	*Secondary*
	11,280 (boys)	1219 (boys)
	9,210 (girls)	1593 (girls)
Total	20,490	2812

NUMBER OF TEACHERS

	Primary	*Secondary*
Turkish	553 (men) 423 (women)	205 (men) 160 (women)
Total	976	365
Greek	192 (men) 254 (women)	72 (men) 5 (women)
Total	446	77
Armenian .....Total	250 (Schools of all grades included)	
Jewish .....Total	160 " " " " "	

II. Organization of Schools

In general the schools are modeled in organization and programs after the schools of continental Europe. The elementary school continues for six years and the secondary school for an additional six years. There are some kindergartens, an indefinite term as used at present. The kindergarten generally includes all those who are in school for the first time. The ages vary from four to ten years. This disparity in ages is due to the fact that many children have not been able to attend school at all during the war. The elementary school is equivalent to the first six years of the American public school. Normally the ages would be from seven to thirteen years. With the exception of the kindergarten, seven is the age of beginners in most schools. The secondary school begins with the seventh grade of the American public school and continues through high school, making twelve years in all. As a matter of fact, only a few schools in Constantinople are able to offer the full twelve grades.

The courses of study differ somewhat from those usually found in the American schools, as will be pointed out in another section of this report. When students finish this course of twelve years they are ready to enter a university for further study. The only institution that offers work equivalent to that of an American college or university is the Turkish university, which will be dealt with briefly in another section of this report. None of the foreign schools in Constantinople offer courses beyond the sophomore, or at most the junior year, of an American college. Many Greeks go to the University of Athens for higher training, and many of all nationalities go to the various European universities. Some go to America for study, but such seldom return to Turkey.

III. Buildings and Equipment

Every kind of building may be found used as a school in Constantinople. Many schools are housed in old dwellings never intended for school purposes, and are consequently inconvenient in every way. Some schools meet in churches. Out of thirty-six schools taken at random, eighteen are housed in buildings designed for school purposes and eighteen are in dwellings and other buildings. There are a few excellent school plants, such as the Turkish school Galata Serai, the Greek schools Zographion and Zappeion, the Armenian school Essayan, and the normal school for Turkish women. The secondary schools are much better off as regards buildings than the primary schools. With few exceptions the buildings are constructed of wood or brick, plastered with cement. The better buildings are usually built of brick and cement. Out of fifty schools visited, sixty per cent are poorly adapted to school purposes. During and after the war Turkish, French, and British troops occupied many of the buildings. Some of these buildings were almost ruined, others badly injured.

1. Condition of Buildings

Generally the buildings are clean and well kept. Few have any decoration to make them cheerful or attractive. There is such a shortage of funds in all schools that only absolute necessities can be provided. Most of the schools are heated by stoves, a few by charcoal braziers, and fewer still by steam. In many of the poorer schools the heating is quite insufficient. In one orphanage visited by the writer there was no heat during the entire winter, except in certain rooms. Lighting is generally good. It is usual in Constantinople to find plenty of windows in buildings of all kinds. Few schools have any means of artificial lighting. Ventilation is poor; in fact in few schools visited is any

careful attention given to the question of ventilation. There is little appreciation in this country of the need of fresh air.

2. Water Supply

There are two main sources of water for the city. The first is the city water system, which supplies reasonably good water. This water is brought from a number of small lakes from twelve to fifteen miles away. The second source is private cisterns. Some water is brought to the city from springs in the neighborhood. This is usually excellent water, but so far as the writer knows it is not used in any school. Most of the schools are supplied from the city water system. A few have cisterns. In the greater part of the schools visited the children use common drinking cups or no cups at all. Some facilities for washing are usually provided, often a stone trough or a basin under a faucet.

3. Cloakrooms and Toilets

Few schools are equipped with cloakrooms. Wraps are hung in halls, in classrooms, and in any available space. No day school visited is provided with lockers.

The toilets in the schools are of the design usually found in the Near East. They are ordinarily unsanitary and disagreeable. This is an all but universal fault in this part of the world. In most of the schools surveyed they were kept about as clean as possible under the circumstances. They are constructed of marble or some common stone. Glazed tile has not been found in any of the native schools inspected.

4. Offices and Classrooms

None of the primary schools have adequate office room. The office of the principal, the general waiting room, and the teachers' room are usually combined in one. No pri-

mary school investigated has in its employ a clerk or assistant to keep the records of the pupils. This work is done by the principal and teachers. The better grade of secondary schools are equipped with more adequate offices and have some clerical help.

A great variety of equipment is found in classrooms. The better schools are provided with desks, often uncomfortable, but adequate. Again the secondary schools are much better off than the primary schools. Some schools have an insufficient number of desks or even none at all. In a number of schools, seats constructed for two pupils are occupied by three. The rooms are often much overcrowded. It is not unusual to find from forty to sixty pupils in a room not large enough for more than twenty. The fact that not more than half the buildings were designed for school purposes, and that many others were built long ago and are now quite inadequate for the needs of the school, partially accounts for this condition. There are also not enough teachers for a greater division of pupils.

It is usual in this country to have only one small blackboard in a room. In the schools surveyed the blackboards average about three by five feet. The teacher, or a pupil appointed for the purpose, explains the problem or other work on the board. Few schools are properly supplied with globes, charts, and maps. In all kinds of equipment the Turkish schools are better supplied than those of the other nationalities. The reason for this is that they have always been supported by public funds, while the others have been compelled to raise their funds by voluntary contribution.

5. *Assembly Halls*

No primary school surveyed has any kind of assembly hall. It is only in the best grade of secondary school that such are found. There is no adequate equipment for the

production of student plays or for giving entertainments of any kind. An exception to this statement must be made in the case of Zappeion and of Galata Serai, which have good small auditoriums.

6. Fire Equipment

A majority of the schools in Constantinople are housed in buildings constructed wholly or in part of wood. None are fireproof. No school visited has any fire equipment other than a few pails of water in convenient places. No school has fire drill or fire escapes. So far as the writer knows there has never been a serious disaster from fire, but such might occur at any time. At the Turkish normal school for men the dormitory building is particularly dangerous. There is one dormitory on the third floor with seventy beds in a room 60 by 40 feet. This room is reached by a single flight of wooden stairs. There are no fire escapes in this building. Many other buildings are almost as dangerous. Only a few in fact could be evacuated in case of fire.

7. Libraries

No primary school visited has a collection of books worthy to be called a library. Occasionally one finds a shelf of books available for the students. No serious effort has ever been made to accumulate books or establish libraries. Until recently there were government restrictions limiting the importation of certain kinds of books.

In the secondary schools there are some small libraries, but unfortunately most of these are for the use of teachers and are not accessible to students. The latter are supposed to confine themselves to their textbooks. The best of such libraries in native schools is at Galata Serai, the leading Turkish lycée. The almost complete lack of school libraries is the more serious since there are no public libraries in Con-

stantinople from which books can be readily secured. There are several small libraries in the city which are open to the public, but these in no way meet the demands of students. There are many libraries in which are found considerable collections of books in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian. But so far as the writer is aware these libraries are not used by pupils in the public schools, nor are they adapted to their needs. They are open, however, to any who care to use them.

8. School Grounds

In a city where about one half of the buildings used for schools were originally dwelling houses, one cannot expect to find school grounds entirely suitable for the recreation of the children. Many schools have no playgrounds other than some vacant lot in the neighborhood. A few have adequate grounds. Galata Serai, the Turkish school mentioned above, has splendid grounds divided into sections for pupils of different ages.

There is likewise a dearth of equipment for games. No school inspected has a gymnasium in the usual sense of the term. This lack of recreation facilities is mainly the result of poverty rather than of negligence. The value of play is generally appreciated in the schools and excellent use is made of the equipment available. Regular and well planned physical training is rarely found. The American Y. M. C. A. is doing much through its physical department to promote physical training in the schools. In most of the schools the teachers supervise the games and take part in them.

IV. Effect of Recent Wars

The recent wars have had a disastrous effect upon the schools of all nationalities. The Armenian schools have suffered most, then the Turkish, then the Greek and the

Jewish. First, the wars have swept away a considerable part of the population. Second, they have brought extreme poverty upon many Christian communities and an all but complete collapse of finances on the part of the Turkish Government. Third, a large number of teachers of various nationalities were lost during the war. Fourth, there has been a large influx of refugees of all nationalities, most of whom are without permanent homes, entirely destitute, and who have no opportunity to put their children in school even if they wish to do so.

V. Pupils

It is impossible to determine the exact number of pupils in the schools of Constantinople at the present time. The statistics that have been obtained from the departments of education of the various nationalities show considerable variations. The attendance is irregular. Many pupils enrolled do not complete the year. Others enter at any time during the course of the year. According to figures given on another page, 404 pupils have been enrolled during the year 1920–1921 in the schools of all grades.

In the non-Turkish schools the boys and girls attend the same schools through the primary grades. Among the Turks the boys and girls generally go to different schools. In the primary grades the number of boys and of girls is about equal. There is no coeducation in secondary schools. An exception to this general statement is found in one Turkish school in Stamboul, in which boys and girls attend the same classes up to the age of sixteen or seventeen. The Turkish secondary schools report about half as many girls as boys. The proportion of girls in the secondary schools of other nationalities is a little higher.

1. Percentage in School

It is impossible to form any accurate estimate of the percentage of children of school age actually in school. If

one estimates the settled population of the city at 1,200,000 and reckons the children of school age as being fifteen per cent of the whole, there would be 180,000 children who ought to be in school. The total number enrolled in all schools, according to the reports of the Government for one year 1914, was 47,657 in the primary schools and approximately 10,000 in the secondary schools. This includes the schools of all nationalities. No report on schools has been issued since 1914. Further information on this point may be gained from the statistical tables on pages 380–381.

2. Illiteracy

It is still more difficult to make any accurate statement as to the amount of illiteracy in the city. The total number of illiterates is large. The amount of illiteracy is considerably larger in the Moslem population than in the Christian or Jewish. But illiteracy is not so general as might be inferred from the fact that not more than thirty per cent of the children of school age are actually in school. A very large number of children attend school for only three or four years. In fact, many of the primary schools offer only four classes.

VI. Teachers

It is the teachers who make the school, who give it its distinctive stamp. The need of well trained and well paid teachers is not yet keenly felt by the patrons of the schools of Constantinople. Most of the teachers are living on starvation wages. This has always been true in this part of the world, but conditions are worse now than before the war, owing to the great rise in the cost of living and the proportionately slight increase in salaries.

1. Men and Women Teachers

The proportion of men teaching in the schools is much greater than in America. In the non-Turkish primary

schools about one-third of the teachers are men. In the Turkish primary schools roughly five ninths are men. In the latter the boys are taught by men and the girls by women. In the secondary schools of all nationalities there is a much greater proportion of men. In most of the schools men and women are paid the same salary for the same work. In one Armenian school visited, the best paid teachers were women. But in nearly all schools the positions that pay the least are ordinarily filled by women.

2. Part Time Teachers

A considerable number of teachers in all schools are employed only part time. In many schools a majority of the teachers are thus employed. The instructor may be teaching in two or three schools at the same time. In one school surveyed, out of the thirty-five teachers employed only seven taught full time. The other twenty-eight were employed and paid by the hour. A limit is set to the number of hours such instructors may teach. Some teach as many as thirty-five periods a week. The usual pay for such in primary schools is one hundred and twenty-five piasters an hour, equivalent at present exchange rates to one dollar. Full time teachers are expected to teach from seventeen or eighteen to twenty-five periods a week. In addition to their teaching they usually have surveillance duties.

3. Quality of Instruction

It is very difficult to ascertain satisfactorily the quality of the instruction unless one understands the languages in which it is given. As at least four vernacular languages are used in the schools, one person cannot readily form such a judgment. To accomplish this, frequent and long visits would be necessary, and these have not been possible. Hence, the observations made do not represent long and thorough investigation. Languages are generally well

Teaching Staff and Students of the Bayazid Primary School—Turkish

taught, particularly as regards speaking the language. The students learn to speak languages with remarkable facility, but their knowledge of grammar is usually very faulty. Languages are taught by the direct method from the beginning and usually by a teacher native to the tongue. In all subjects one usually finds that more work is done for the pupils by the teacher and less by the students themselves than in American schools. For example, in physics or chemistry, it is the practice in most schools for the teacher to make all the experiments before the class rather than for the pupils to make them themselves. Most schools have very meager equipment for even the most elementary work in science. After visiting many schools it is the writer's conviction that considering the handicaps under which they work the pupils make excellent progress. If one remembers that the prime considerations in every school are the pupils and the teacher, then one is not so much disturbed by a general lack of good buildings and equipment, valuable as these may be.

4. Preparation of Teachers

One finds many teachers in the schools of Constantinople who are well prepared for their work. On the other hand, a large majority in the primary schools have had little special preparation. Aside from training in pedagogy, which most of them have not received, few have had more schooling than is represented by the eighth grade in the American public schools. Many are teaching temporarily because they have nothing better to do. These are not teachers by profession. In the secondary schools the great majority are professional teachers and represent a much higher grade of preparation than is found in the primary schools.

5. Normal Schools

Aside from a very small Greek normal school there are only two normal schools in Constantinople—one for men

and one for women. Both are Turkish. In the normal school for men two hundred students have been enrolled during the present year, but the actual attendance has been considerably less. In the normal school for women the enrollment for the year is five hundred and thirty. Both are boarding schools receiving no day students, and are of secondary grade about equivalent to an American high school. In some of the Greek and Armenian secondary schools there are courses for teachers, but these go only a short way toward supplying teachers for the primary schools.

With the exception of a few subjects offered at the Imperial Ottoman University there are no courses in education and kindred subjects to prepare teachers for the secondary schools. All the teachers in the secondary schools are supposed to have studied in some university or to have had a long experience as teachers or principals in primary schools. As a matter of fact, there are very few teachers in the secondary schools who have had training beyond that required for the Bachelor of Arts degree in American colleges. The first need of the country is more and better teachers, but in order to have them the rewards and opportunities of teaching must be made greater.

6. Teachers' Institutes

There are no regular teachers' institutes for any of the nationalities. Local institutes are held occasionally for the teachers of a community or of a single school. At such institutes there are lectures and discussions on pedagogy, school administration, and other topics of importance to teachers. An interesting series of conferences on education have been held during the past year at Constantinople College. It has been the aim in these conferences to draw together teachers of all nationalities. So far as the writer knows, this is the first attempt to organize teachers' con-

ferences representing all the national communities in the city.

7. Teachers' Unions

There is a general organization of the Turkish teachers in the nature of a union. The Greek primary teachers of Pera have a union which meets irregularly for lectures and conferences. There is also a union of the Greek secondary school teachers of Pera, but it is not so well organized or so active as that of the primary teachers.

8. Supervision of Teaching

There is comparatively little supervision of teaching in the average school. In all schools the financial support is so inadequate that it is quite impossible to furnish the assistance needed for supervision. In most of the schools, including the larger ones even, the principal must teach as well as direct the work of the school. No primary school which the writer has visited has a secretary to do clerical work. In one of the best organized primary schools visited there were 321 pupils, of whom 110 were in the kindergarten and the remaining 211 in the elementary grades. One man without clerical assistance directs this school, teaches some of the classes, and also, in order to bring his salary up to something like a living wage, teaches part time in one of the American colleges. Obviously a teacher so overworked can give little time to the supervision of the work of his teachers. Little attempt at departmental organization has yet been made in the primary schools.

9. Salaries of Teachers

In the Turkish schools the salaries are fixed by the Government. A table showing the various salary rates is given on page 414. In the Greek and Armenian schools minimum salaries are set by the central school committees. The local

school committees are required to observe these regulations, but since these schools are all private there can be no legal compulsion. Teachers may be paid more than the minimum for their grades, but it is generally followed pretty closely. In fact, some evasion even of the minimum wage has been found. There is considerable variation of salaries in the different Christian communities. Some communities are wealthy and some are very poor. The cost of living also differs in the various communities. In ten primary schools of the different nationalities chosen at random, all non-Turkish, the average minimum salary is 29.50 liras ($23.60) per month, and the average maximum salary 48.33 liras ($38.66). In these schools the average salary of principals is 76.66 liras ($61.33) per month, the lowest being 50 liras ($40) and the highest 100 liras ($80). No school in Pera happened to be included in this list. The Greek schools of Pera have a fixed salary of 154 liras ($123.20) per month for principals of primary schools. All these salaries are on a basis of twelve monthly payments.

In six of the leading secondary schools of three nationalities, the average minimum salary is 98.33 liras ($78.66) a month and the average maximum salary is 146.66 liras ($117.33). The lowest salary on this list is 40 liras ($32) and the highest 250 liras ($200). The highest salaries in the native schools are paid in the Greek schools of Pera.

In a number of the poorer districts it has proved impossible to meet all payments to teachers. This means that one or two months' salary will remain unpaid at the end of the year. The increase in salaries over the rates paid before the war differs in the various communities. In the best Greek and Armenian schools salaries are about twice what they were before the war when calculated in gold liras or in dollars. In the poorer communities the increase has

been less. In the Turkish schools the salaries are actually less in gold liras or dollars than before the war. Of course all this means little unless one understands something of the relative cost of living between 1914 and the present time. The increase in the cost of living is always hard to estimate, but it is safe to state that on the basis of the gold lira or the dollar, the cost of living has risen from two to four times since 1914. At the time of writing, the gold lira is worth 5.47 paper liras. All payments to teachers are in paper liras. Now if the cost of living were only double what it was in 1914, it would take eleven paper liras to buy to-day what one gold lira bought in the years immediately preceding the war. It should also be noted that the cost of living in Constantinople is fully as great as in Boston or New York. From these facts it will be seen that the salary of the average teacher in Constantinople is sufficient only for the barest possible necessities.

This table given on page 414 showing the salaries in the Turkish government schools, was obtained from the Ministry of Public Instruction. It represents the salaries paid in all grades of schools from the primary to the university.

VII. Course of Study

1. Calendar

The dates of the beginning and the ending of the school year correspond very closely to those in America. The schools open toward the middle of September and close from the middle to the end of June. In the course of the year there are from fifteen to twenty-five holidays. The number varies somewhat in the different nationalities. In most of the schools there are recitations five and a half days each week. Among the Mohammedans, Friday is the holy day corresponding to the Christian Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath.

2. System of Marking

In general, the marks and other records of the work and conduct of the pupils are kept much the same as in American schools. The marking is usually on a scale of ten. Reports of attendance, deportment, and scholarship are sent to parents from two to five times a year. In the Turkish public schools, for example, a very comprehensive report card is used. This is sent to parents every other month. Examinations, both oral and written, are held two or three times a year, and tests are also given at frequent intervals.

3. Recitations

The length of the recitation period varies from thirty minutes in the lower primary grades to forty-five or fifty minutes in upper primary grades and the secondary schools. In a few secondary schools the period is a full hour. Generally, ten or even fifteen minutes are allowed for recreation between periods. The number of recitations varies from twenty-five to thirty-five a week. In the secondary schools there are seldom less than thirty a week and the number often runs up to thirty-six. The distribution of class hours may be seen in the programs given at the close of this section. Another fact that will be noticed in these programs is the large number of subjects given once or twice a week over a number of years, rather than being given three or four hours a week for a shorter period. Such a large number of recitations a week in the secondary schools leaves little time for the proper preparation of lessons. Much of the work in the class is of necessity such as might have been done by the student in his preparation. There are two principal reasons for this crowded course of study. The first is that the student must finish his general course by the age of eighteen or nineteen in order to do his military service. The second is that the universi-

ties of Europe and those of the Near East which are organized on European models, require a very definite program for entrance, all of which must be crowded into the secondary school course. Thus one finds psychology and the history of philosophy as early as the junior year of an American high school.

4. Religious Instruction

Religious instruction occupies an important place in the programs of all schools. In the Christian schools the curriculum includes Bible, catechism, and church history. The time given is generally one or two hours a week throughout the course in both primary and secondary schools. In the Turkish or Mohammedan schools it includes reading the Koran in Arabic and some training in the forms of worship. The reading of the Koran in the elementary schools is purely mechanical as the student is taught merely to pronounce the words, not to understand the meaning. In none of the Turkish public schools visited is there compulsory attendance at any religious exercise. Some schools have rooms for prayer where students are urged to perform their devotions, but there is no compulsion. Generally, in the Christian schools, although not always, there is compulsory attendance at some religious exercise. This may be morning prayers or other daily devotions conducted in the school, or it may be attendance at church on Sunday.

5. Music

Music is taught in all primary schools and generally in the secondary schools as well. It may be any one of three branches: church singing, Western music, Turkish or Oriental music. Piano and violin are taught in the better secondary schools.

6. Domestic Science and Manual Training

In the primary schools sewing is a regular practice for the girls. No other household art has been taught in any of the schools surveyed. A few schools require some handwork of boys. But neither of these subjects has yet come to occupy any considerable place in the schools. An exception to this statement must be made in the case of the orphanages which usually require some instruction in a trade. It would probably be a great advantage to have manual training in all the schools. It is a kind of training which the boys of this part of the world seldom receive at home.

VIII. Health and Sanitation

1. Medical Inspection

Medical inspection in the schools is quite inadequate at present. All schools surveyed have school physicians who come regularly or at call to examine special cases, but in the day schools there is no thorough examination of all pupils. Only those who are sick or ailing are carefully examined. There is no medical examination of backward children. Little attention is given to the condition of the teeth, eyes, ears, throat, and tonsils, unless it is a serious case. In nearly all schools the rooms are too crowded and the ventilation is bad. As there is inadequate heat, the temptation is to keep the windows always closed in cold weather. The medical examiner should insist on proper ventilation. In the case of epidemics, the schools are closed. In the autumn of 1919 there was a serious epidemic of bubonic plague which caused the closing of nearly all schools for a short time. During the present year there has been no serious epidemic in the schools. In some communities the schools have been closed for a few days on account of the chicken-pox.

In some of the secondary schools, particularly boarding schools, medical inspection is much more thorough. The best secondary schools are fairly well taken care of in this respect. Again one must point to the Turkish school, Galata Serai, as the best equipped. Here there are hospital rooms, a school physician, and a well stocked pharmacy. The sick ward and the pharmacy are in the main school building but quite isolated. This is the only school visited that is equipped with up-to-date shower baths. Boarding students are required to bathe once a week. Hot water is furnished for baths.

2. Undernourishment

A considerable number of pupils are undernourished. This applies mainly to the schools in the poorer districts. A large number of children are very poor. Among such the main article of diet is bread supplemented with olives or some vegetable and occasionally with a little meat. There are many children in school from families that have lost everything by fire or war. There are also a great many orphans living outside the orphanages. Probably all these are undernourished. Very little can be done at present to remedy this situation, as no funds are available. However, an effort is being made to help the undernourished in some schools by supplying them with a portion of food daily. An example of this may be found at the Greek school Kentrikon in Pera. In this instance supplies are furnished partly by the Near East Relief and partly by a benevolent organization of the school.

IX. Financial Organization

1. Turkish Schools

The Turkish public schools are supported by taxation. All children whether Turkish or non-Turkish may attend these schools. As a matter of fact, very few children from

the non-Turkish communities attend. Practically all are Moslems. In addition to the funds received from taxation, the students also pay a small fee. In the primary schools visited this amount is six liras a year, equivalent to $4.80. In some schools there is a higher fee. At Galata Serai, the best Turkish secondary school, the tuition is 50 liras ($40) a year. This school is supported in part by tuition fees and in part by a government subsidy. The buildings are furnished by the State.

2. Non-Turkish Schools

The non-Turkish schools are all supported from private funds. Such funds are raised in many different ways. The largest amount comes from fees paid by students. These fees vary in the different communities and in the various nationalities. In some schools there is no fixed tuition. In such a case the school committee determines payments according to the wealth of the family from which the child comes. There may be three or four different grades of fees. In most communities there is a fixed tuition with deductions for the poorer families. The fees in the primary schools range from 20 to 40 liras ($16 to $32) a year. A few schools have regular fees below 20 liras ($16). In all the primary schools many pupils are received free. The schools try to provide for all the children in the community, whether they are able to pay or not. One Armenian school surveyed had seventy orphans in attendance, for all of whom only 35 liras ($28) a month was received, this small sum being paid by an American relief organization.

In the secondary schools the fees are a little higher, the maximum being around 50 liras ($40) for the year. This does not apply to the private schools of the different nationalities. In these the tuition is higher, as will be shown later in this report.

Buildings for schools of all grades are ordinarily furnished by the community and paid for out of community funds. Occasionally a building has been donated in whole or in part by an individual. In the Christian communities the school generally stands beside the church. The two institutions are always closely related in every way. School deficits are paid out of community funds collected through the church. There are no endowments in general for the schools outside of the rental of a part of the school building or other small property belonging to the school or the church.

3. Fees in Boarding Schools

There is much variation in the fees charged in boarding schools. At the Turkish normal schools, one for boys and one for girls, no charge is made for instruction or board. In return for a free education the students agree to teach for a definite number of years, a maximum of eight. At Galata Serai, day students pay 50 liras ($40); tuition with lunch is 100 liras ($80); and full board and tuition are 200 liras ($160). As stated above, this school receives a subsidy from the Government.

Boarding schools of other nationalities are dependent for their income solely on charges for tuition and board. Most of these are of secondary grade. The lowest fee reported in such schools is 40 liras ($32) for day students and 300 liras ($240) for boarders. The highest fee reported is 100 liras ($80) for day students and 450 liras ($360) for boarders. Tuition in the other schools ranges between these two extremes. These fees are for native schools only.

4. Average Cost

It is difficult to ascertain the average cost of schooling for each pupil. In the non-Turkish schools if every pupil paid the regular tuition, the income of the school would

cover expenses, but this is seldom all paid. The average cost in the primary schools is probably about 30 liras ($24) a year and somewhat higher in the secondary schools. The fact that nearly all non-Turkish secondary schools are joined with primary schools in the same buildings makes it impossible to distinguish sharply between the cost in the different grades. The Turkish secondary schools are generally housed separately from the primary.

In the Turkish secondary schools the average cost for the present year is estimated at 83 liras ($66.40) per pupil. This figure is obtained from the Ministry of Public Instruction. The writer has no exact figures regarding the cost in the primary schools, but it would certainly not be more than half the amount given for the secondary schools, probably considerably less than half.

X. Suggestions for Improvement

In making any suggestions for the improvement of schools in Constantinople, one must bear in mind the difficulties that have to be surmounted in the field of education. The natural difficulties of nationality, of language, and of political conditions have been accentuated by the terrible hardships of all classes and of all national groups during the last seven years. Now business stagnation and general poverty confront almost every community. On the other hand, one must appreciate the interest in education on the part of the majority of the people. They desire a good education for their children and are generally willing to make great sacrifices to secure it. As to the present condition of the schools, there is no getting around the fact that they are poorly equipped both with teachers and with material facilities, which in almost every respect are quite inadequate to meet the needs of the children of the city. Extensive improvements can come only when the political situation has been cleared up and the way opened for the

return of economic prosperity. Such conditions will be realized but slowly. Meanwhile, those interested in education must struggle to improve the schools of the city as opportunity offers. Some of the lines along which improvement should be sought are indicated in the suggestions which follow.

1. Teachers

It is needless to state that there can be no decided improvement of schools unless the conditions under which teachers are trained and live are greatly improved. The teachers make the school. The very first responsibility of those in charge of education should be that of selecting, training, and keeping efficient teachers. Of what use are buildings, and grounds, and libraries unless manned by those born and trained to teach? To gain such, the teaching profession must be made more attractive than it is at present in Constantinople. First of all, the salaries of teachers should be greatly increased. Only in a very few schools do the salaries amount to anything like a living wage. Few teachers in the primary schools receive as much as 600 liras a year, equivalent to $480. The great majority receive less than this. Under such conditions few able men or women will teach who can find anything else to do. There are some excellent teachers in the schools of Constantinople, who struggle on under the present adverse conditions, but in general the best men are turned away from the teaching profession. The meager pay and the low standard of living necessitated put the teacher in an inferior position socially. Not many young people want to be teachers under such circumstances.

A teacher should have good working conditions as well as a reasonable salary. Most of the schoolrooms in Constantinople are dull and unattractive places in which to spend so many hours a day. Teachers and pupils need attractive surroundings. And then the permanent teachers

have too many hours of duty a week. In the primary grades in particular, the teachers spend all day in the school teaching or in charge of a study room. Teaching is very tiring work and the hours should be properly distributed. The worst conditions of this sort of thing observed by the writer were in a school in the district of Koum Kapou, where there is a large church being used as a school house because the school building of that section has been destroyed. In this school there are 200 pupils in what is called the kindergarten, but which is in reality the classes of beginners learning to read. The 200 are all in the nave of the church divided into four groups and taught by four young women. These groups average 50 pupils each. Throughout the winter the room is cold and dark. The teachers have the pupils both morning and afternoon. The pay of these four teachers averages 25 liras a month each, equivalent at present to $20.

Even in the best schools the classes are far too large, generally comprising from 35 to 45 pupils. One school of 320 pupils has only six teachers. It is a great strain on any teacher to manage such large classes, to say nothing of teaching them. This fact should be recognized and an adequate teaching staff provided.

2. Normal Schools

As has already been stated, there are but two important normal schools in Constantinople which prepare teachers principally for the Turkish primary schools. There should be adequate provision for the training of teachers for every grade of schools. Whether these should be regular normal schools or teachers' training courses in the secondary and superior schools is a question open to discussion. But the fact that such courses are needed is not open to discussion, for it is apparent to all. This is another primary need in education in Constantinople.

3. Buildings and Equipment

Owing to the war the school buildings are in a worse condition now than in ordinary times. Practically none of the primary schools and few of the secondary schools are properly housed. A great number of new buildings are badly needed to improve the efficiency of the schools as well as to insure the comfort of teachers and pupils. Other material equipment, such as globes, maps, charts, blackboards, manual training equipment, and gymnasium apparatus is almost always lacking and should be supplied.

4. Libraries

There are practically no school libraries either for teachers or for pupils. Only five primary schools out of thirty-five visited have anything in the way of a library. The largest of these contains 700 volumes. The secondary schools are only a little better off in this respect. In a city where there are no adequate public libraries, the schools should make a serious attempt to supply proper reading matter for the pupils. There should also be books for the use of teachers. The building up of school libraries should be seriously undertaken.

5. Compulsory Attendance

Means to provide for and compel attendance of all children of school age should be sought. There is a compulsory law for Turkish pupils, but it is not enforced. In fact, it could not be enforced, as the present buildings would not hold all the pupils if they were compelled to come.

6. Evening Schools

Evening schools should be organized for working boys. Probably these should be largely industrial and trade schools. The working boy has very few opportunities in this city.

7. *Coöperation*

At present there is practically no coöperation among the different national school systems. It is surprising to find how little the teachers of one nationality know about the schools of any other nationality. There is very little interest or desire to know. All the elements in the life of the city must progress together if the city as a whole is to progress. Some method of coöperation should be found. In a city where there is so much rivalry and division between the different national groups, the teachers should be the first to seek out ways of allaying this strife and of building up a better understanding between the communities.

XI. The Medresé or Religious School

The medresés train students to become priests, religious teachers, and judges in the religious courts. They represent the old system of education in Turkey before the establishment of modern schools, toward the middle of the last century. Mohammed II, the Conqueror, first organized such schools in Constantinople. When Mohammed II built the great mosque which bears his name, completed in 1469, he organized in connection with it eight medresés, four on one side of the great court and four on another. Hence the whole was called Sahni-Seman, or the Court of the Eight Colleges. This great school at once became the intellectual center of the empire. All higher officials of the Ulema must have been graduated from this school. Ulema means "the learned" and includes all the officials of the canon law of Islam.

All over the empire preparatory schools, or lower medresés, were established from which students came to the Sahni-Seman. These preparatory schools were called Avenues to the Sahn. In these schools the students studied the so-called ten sciences: Arabic grammar, syntax, logic, scholastic philosophy, humanity (or Arabic classical litera-

ture), significations, exposition, geometry, and astronomy. A graduate of one of these schools might become a teacher in a lower school, an imam, or other functionary; but if he wished to attain a higher position he must attend the Sahni-Seman.

The first degree attained in the Sahni-Seman was called Mülazim, Bachelor, which could be secured after a definite time spent in study and after the passing of certain examinations. The studies for this degree included rhetoric, scholastic philosophy, and the science of law under four heads: dogmatics, jurisprudence, traditions, exegesis.

After securing the first degree, the student might continue his studies some years longer until he could pass a second examination, which would qualify him for a judgeship in one of the smaller towns. But as such he could never enter the higher grades of the profession. In order to become a judge, or cadi, of the highest class the candidate must first become a Müderris, or holder of the highest degree, corresponding roughly to the doctor's degree in Western countries. The Müderrises were divided into several classes and from their number were chosen the cadis of the highest rank.

The organization of the medresés remained thus until 1556 when Süleiman I completed the great Süleimaniyeh mosque, and in connection with it, established a new medresé called Dar-ul-Hadis, or the College of Traditions. He also built four preparatory medresés called "Avenues to the Süleimaniyeh." No other important changes were made in the organization of the medresés until after the decline of the empire set in.[1]

As has been noted elsewhere in this report, there are at present 21 medresés in Constantinople with approximately 1000 pupils in residence during the past year 1920–1921.

[1] These facts are taken from E. G. W. Gibb "A History of Ottoman Poetry," Vol. II, pp. 394 ff.

Before the late war about 10,000 pupils were enrolled annually in 196 medresés. These schools are now divided into three grades, each grade comprising four years. Candidates for entrance must be at least thirteen years old, but not over eighteen, must be in sound health, must present a certificate of good character, and must be prepared to pass an entrance examination covering about five years' work in the common schools. Qualified candidates may enter higher classes by examination.

The medresés are supported and controlled by the Evkaf, or Pious Foundations. Food and lodging are provided free for all students. There is no charge for tuition. All students must observe the usual hours of prayer. The school year begins about September 1 and ends the last of May. The month of Ramazan, the Mohammedan month of fasting, is vacation in case it falls within the school year.

XII. Some Representative Programs

Some typical programs are given below. The first is from the Armenian primary school in Beshiktash, a suburban town:

Program of an Armenian Primary School

	Years					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Hours per week					
Vernacular	6	6	6	5	4	4
Arithmetic	6	6	5	5	5	5
History	2	2	2	2	2	2
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2
Elementary Science	3	2	2	..	2	2
Physiology	..	..	..	2	..	..
English	..	..	3	3	3	3
French	..	..	3	3	3	3
Writing	3	3	1	1	1	1
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1	1
Singing	3	3	3	2	2	..
Manual Training	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sewing	1	1	1	1	1	1
Religion	2	1	1	2	2	2
Turkish	..	..	..	2	2	2
Physical Training	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	31	29	32	33	32	30

Program of a Medresé

The program in the medresés for the first two grades of eight years is as follows:

Subject	*Years*	*Grade I*				*Grade II*			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Reading the Koran		2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Ethics		..	..	1	1	2	3	3	3
Prayer (Forms of Prayer)		2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
The Marriage Relation		..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..
Arabic Grammar		4	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Arabic Conversation and Composition		1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..
Turkish		4	3	2	2	..	..	..	..
History of Islam		2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Persian		2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
History (mainly Ottoman)		..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
Arithmetic		2	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Algebra		..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..
Geometry		..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Bookkeeping		..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Geography		2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
Physics		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Natural Science		..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Physiology		..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Social Study		..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Agriculture		..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
Civics		..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Writing		1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Exegesis of Koran		..	..	..	..	4	4	4	4
Interpretation of the Divine Law		..	..	..	..	4	8	7	7
The Sayings of Mohammed		..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Lives of the Califs		..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Theology		..	..	..	..	3	3	3	4
Philosophy		..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1
Law		..	..	..	..	2	3	1	1
Arabic Literature		..	..	..	..	3	1	3	2
Total		24	24	24	23	20	24	24	24

Program of a Turkish Elementary School

The following program is essentially the same as those found generally in Turkish primary schools. It is the program of the Turkish school in Bebek, a suburb of Constantinople on the Bosphorus.

Subjects	*Years*				
	1	2	3	4	5
Turkish	11	11	10	9	9
French	..	..	..	..	2
English	..	..	..	2	2
Arithmetic	4	4	3	2	2
Geography	..	..	2	2	2
Geometry	..	..	1	1	1
Elementary Science	3	3	2	2	2
Manual Training	3	3	2	2	1
Music	2	2	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1	1
Religion	3	3	3	3	3
Gymnasium	1	1	1	1	1
History	..	1	2	2	2
Total	28	29	29	29	30

The Programs of the Normal Schools

There are two Turkish normal schools, one for boys and one for girls. Both are of secondary grade. Both are doing good work, but are handicapped by the lack of material equipment and by shortage of funds for salaries and other necessities. Some higher work is offered in education at the university.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (DAR-UL-MOUALLIMAT)

Subjects	*Years*				
	1	2	3	4	5
Koran	1	1	1	..	..
Religious Instruction	1	1	1	1	1
Hygiene	..	..	..	..	2
Zoology	..	..	..	2	1
Geology	..	..	..	..	1
Botany	..	..	..	1	..
Natural History	..	..	2	..	..
Pedagogy	..	..	..	2	2
Psychology	..	..	..	2	..
Practice Teaching	..	..	..	..	4
Chemistry	..	..	..	2	2
Physics	..	..	..	2	2
Algebra	..	..	..	..	2
Cosmography	..	..	..	..	2
Arithmetic	3	3	3	2	..
Geometry	2	2	1	1	..
Turkish	4	4	4	4	3
History	2	2	2	2	2
Geography	2	2	2	1	..

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS (DAR-UL-MOUALLIMAT)—*Continued*

Subjects	*Years*				
German	..	..	..	..	2
French	2	2	2	2	..
Orthography	1	1	..	..	..
Penmanship	2	2	..	..	..
Drawing	2	2	2	1	1
Manual Training	2	2	1	..	..
Sewing	3	2	2	..	..
Law	..	..	1	1	..
Singing	..	..	1	1	1
Cooking	..	..	1	1	..
Home Economics	..	..	2	..	..
Gymnasium	2	2	1	1	1
Total	29	28	30	29	29

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS (DAR-UL-MOUALLIMIN)

Subjects	*Years*			
	1	2	3	4
Religious Instruction	3	2	1	1
Turkish Language and Literature	6	6	5	1
Penmanship	1	..	..	..
Foreign Language	2	2	1	1
Arithmetic	3	2	1	..
Algebra	..	..	..	2
Geometry and Surveying	1	2	2	2
Cosmography	..	..	..	1
Bookkeeping	..	..	..	1
Geography	2	2	1	1
History	2	2	2	1
Physics	1	2	1	1
Chemistry	1	1	1	..
Zoology	2	..	..	..
Botany	..	2	..	..
Geology	..	..	1	..
Anatomy and Physiology	..	..	1	1
School Hygiene	..	..	..	1
Agriculture	..	..	3	3
Pedagogy	..	..	3	3
Music	2	2	2	..
Manual Training	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2	..
Drawing	2	2	2	1
Ethics, Civics	..	1	1	1
Practice Teaching	..	..	..	9
Total	32	32	32	33

The reader will observe that in nearly all subjects the students have either one or two recitations a week. A

minimum of fifteen subjects, and a maximum of seventeen, are studied each year. Would it not be better to devote four or five hours a week to each subject and complete it by a shorter and more intensive period of study? This is a common fault in the programs of all schools in Constantinople.

The Program of Robert Academy

	Class									
Subject	*Ia*	*Ib*	*Ic*	*Id*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VI (Special)*
English	12	12-12	14-11	17-13	8-4	4	4-4	3	3	5-5
Vernacular	6	6-6	4-4	4-4	6-6	4	4-4	3	3	4-4
French	..	..	4-4	4-4	..	4	4-4	3	3	4-4
Translation	..	..	..	..	..	2	2-2	2	..	..
Arithmetic	4	4-4	4-4	5-2	5-5	4	4-	..	..	..
Algebra	..	..	..	-3	..	..	-4	5	5	4-4
Geometry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4-4
Science	..			-3	4-4	..	3-3	3	3	2-2
Geography	4	4-4	-3	..	-4	3	..	3	2	3-
Civics	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	-3
Bible	1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1	1-1	1	1	1-1
Music	1	1-2	1-2	1-2	2-2	2	2-2	1	1	
Industrial	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Training	..	..	2-2	..	..	2(2-2)		..	..	..
Penmanship	..	..	..	..	2-2	2	2-2	..	..	..
Drawing	..	..	..	..	..	..	(2-2)	..	..	..
German	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(3	3)	..
	28	28-29	30-30	28-28	28-28	28	28-28	23	23	25-25

The double columns in this program represent semester hours. The last class marked VI (Special) may be taken instead of the classes marked V and VI by students who have secured an average grade of 8.5 in classes III and IV, or in Id if they are beginners in English but advanced in other subjects. German may be taken as an elective by qualified students in classes V and VI. To enter class I a student must be twelve years old and must have completed at least the fourth year of the common schools.

The Program of Robert College

Subject	*Class* Freshman				Sophomore			
	B.A.	*B.S.*	*B.S.C.*	*C.C.*	*A.B.*	*B.S.*	*B.S.C.*	*C.C.*
English	3-3	3-3	3-3	3-3	3	3	3	3
Vernacular	3-3	3-3	3-3	3-3	3	3	3	3
French or German	3-3	3-3	3-3	3-3	3	3	3	3
Latin	3-3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Bible	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	1	1	1	1
Music	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	..	..	..	..
Trignometry and Analytics	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3
Zoology and Botany	..	3-3	..	3-3	..	..	..	..
Physics	..	..	..	..	4	4	4	4
History	4-4	4-4	4-4	4-4	4	4	4	4
Commerce	..	..	-3	..	..	..	3	..
Engineering	..	..	..	2-2	..	..	..	3
Mathematics	3-	3-3	3-	3-3	..	..	..	..
	21-18	21-21	18-18	23-23	21	21	21	24

	Junior				*Senior*			
	B.A.	*B.S.*	*B.S.C.*	*C.C.*	*A.B.*	*B.S.*	*B.S.C.*	*C.C.*
English	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
French or German	3	3	..	3	..	..	..	..
Vernacular	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
Latin	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Bible	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mathematics	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	..
Chemistry	..	4	4	4	..	..	..	3
Physics or Biology	..	5	..	5	..	..	..	..
Economics	3	..	3	..	..	3	..	3
Sociology	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..
Psychology	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	3
History of Philosophy	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
Commerce	..	..	6	..	..	..	12	..
Engineering	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	12
	19	19	20	23	10	11	19	22

	Freshman	*Sophomore*	*Junior*	*Senior*
Minimum hours required	21	21	21	19
Maximum hours permitted	24	24	24	24

Class hours are fifty minutes in duration.

The program given shows required work only. A number of electives are offered from which the student must fill up his course to the required minimum. Most students elect the maximum number allowed.

The programs given both of the college and of the academy were adopted in the present year April, 1921, and represent certain changes as compared with the programs in use in past years.

XIII. Table of Teachers' Salaries

Table of salaries in the Turkish government schools for the year 1920–1921, given in liras with equivalent in dollars. The first column at the left indicates the salary paid before the war when all payments were in gold worth $4.40. The column at the right indicates the salary received the present year in paper liras, worth on May 25, 1921, eighty cents to the lira.

Salary		*Bonus*		*Retirement*	*Deduction*	*Total*	*Received*
3.00	$13.20	18.00	$14.40	.45	$ .36	20.55	$16.44
4.00	17.60	18.00	14.40	.60	.48	21.40	17.12
4.50	19.80	18.00	14.40	.675	.54	21.82	17.46
5.00	22.00	18.00	14.40	.75	.60	22.25	17.80
6.00	26.40	18.00	14.40	.90	.72	23.10	18.48
7.00	30.80	27.00	21.60	1.05	.84	32.95	26.36
8.00	35.20	27.00	21.60	1.20	.96	33.80	27.04
9.00	39.60	27.00	21.60	1.35	1.08	34.65	27.72
10.00	44.00	30.00	24.00	1.50	1.20	38.50	30.80
12.00	52.80	32.00	25.60	1.80	1.44	42.20	33.76
13.00	57.20	33.00	26.40	1.95	1.56	44.05	35.24
14.00	61.60	34.00	27.20	2.10	1.68	45.90	36.72
15.00	66.00	35.00	28.00	2.25	1.80	47.75	38.20
20.00	88.00	40.00	32.00	3.00	2.40	57.00	45.60
30.00	132.00	50.00	40.00	4.50	3.60	75.50	60.40
40.00	176.00	57.50	46.00	6.00	4.80	91.50	73.20
50.00	220.00	65.00	52.00	7.50	6.00	107.50	86.00

A bonus of 18 liras ($14.40) a month is allowed on salaries up to 6 liras ($4.80); of 27 liras ($21.60) from 6 to 9 liras ($7.20); and of 30 liras ($24) on salaries from 9 to 15 liras ($12). The percentage of increase by bonus diminishes as the salary scale rises.

XIV. Foreign Schools

In addition to the schools of the four nationalities mentioned there are also a large number of foreign schools in

Constantinople. The limited space at our disposal does not allow of a detailed statement regarding these schools; but to avoid any misunderstanding a few facts concerning them will be noted. A number of these foreign schools are to be ranked among the most important institutions in the city. Their influence in education not only in Constantinople but throughout the Near East has been decisive. These schools are of four nationalities: American, British, Italian, French.

1. American

There are four American schools in Constantinople: Robert College, Constantinople College, the American School at Gedik Pasha, and the Bowen School. The last named, with day and evening departments, was opened at the Pera branch of the Young Men's Christian Association in January, 1921. Two other schools will be opened in September of the current year (1921). These are the Bithynia High School for boys, located at Geuz Tepé, a suburb on the shore of the Marmora below Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and the American School for Girls located at Scutari. Both these schools are supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and succeed those formerly located at Bardizag and Adabazar respectively.

a. Robert College, founded in 1863, is located on the European side of the Bosphorus about five miles from the port. It is easily reached by boat or street car from any part of the city. The courses offered in the college consist of a preparatory course of six years, which boys may enter at the age of twelve, provided they have had at least four years of previous schooling and pass the entrance examination; a college course of four years leading to the Bachelor's degree in Arts, Science, and Commerce; and an engineering course of four years with entrance requirements equivalent

to the entrance requirements of technical schools in the United States. The teaching staff consists of 64 professors and instructors, of whom 31 are Americans and 33 non-Americans. The total enrollment of students is 670. The course of study of the college and academy will be found on pages 412–13.

b. Constantinople College for Women, founded in 1871, is located at Arnaoutkeuy on the Bosphorus. The college offers a preparatory course of five years, with age and other entrance requirements similar to those at Robert College. In the college proper courses are offered leading to the degrees in Arts, Science, Commerce, and Education. A medical school was organized in 1920, with entrance requirements similar to the requirements for admission to medical schools in America. The teaching staff consists of 58 professors and instructors, of whom 31 are Americans and 27 non-Americans. The total registration in the year 1920–1921 was 484.

c. The American School at Gedik Pasha is a day school for both boys and girls. The school receives students from the age of seven years. The course of study continues for eight years, corresponding approximately to the eight grades of the elementary schools in America. The teaching staff consists of 18 teachers, of whom 15 are female and 3 male. The enrollment of students is 259, of whom 125 are boys and 134 are girls. The school is under the control of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

2. British Schools

There are three schools which are carried on by the British community in Constantinople. These are the English High School for Boys in Shishli, the English High School for Girls in Pera, and the British School for both boys and girls in Galata. The total enrollment of these

schools is 480. Although founded with the needs of the British community in view, the majority of the students at present are non-British subjects. The first two schools are old and well known, having an excellent reputation in Constantinople. The British School in Galata was opened in 1920 and is just now winning a place and reputation for itself. All three have excellent buildings and are well equipped in general for their work. The British School, owing to its recent foundation, is less well off in this respect than the others. The courses of study in these schools, which are similar to those of the same grade in English schools, are planned for British subjects and for those who expect to go to the British Isles to complete their education.

There is also an English school in Stamboul in the district of Koum Kapou, known as the English Friends' School, supported by the Friends' Mission. It is a primary day school.

3. Italian Schools

The Italian tradition in Constantinople goes back to the days of the Genoese and Venetian supremacy in the Levant. Galata was once a Genoese commercial colony. At present there are the following Italian schools in Constantinople: An elementary school for boys, with four classes and a total enrollment of 370 pupils; an elementary school for girls, taught by the religious Sisters of Ivrea, having an enrollment of 230; a higher preparatory school, having 156 pupils; and technical courses of degrees I and II, having 75 pupils. The total enrollment in these schools, according to figures given in an address on Italian education at Constantinople College by Professor Giovanni Bianco on February 16, 1921, is 831.

4. French Schools

The French schools of Constantinople constitute a system in themselves, and yet they are not united into a system, but are carried on by many different authorities and religious orders. There is Galata Serai, controlled by the Turkish Government, but having a large part of the teaching done in French by French instructors. There is the Collège Français, a private French school under Greek direction. There are Jewish schools, in which the work is mainly in the French language. There are a large number of purely French schools controlled by French religious orders. The French are the oldest and by far the most numerous of the foreign schools in Constantinople. French influence has been very strong in the Levant since the seventeenth century. French is still the international language throughout the Near East. The acquirement of French is essential for all who expect to enter a commercial or professional career. A large proportion of the educated people of the city speak French as a second tongue. The French language is also an important study in the programs of schools of all nationalities.

As has been remarked, the French schools are under no central authority. Some of them are private schools; some are mission schools. The general statement that there are between thirty and thirty-five schools recognized as French, and between 12,000 and 15,000 pupils will give some idea of the importance of these schools. In general the French schools are provided with good buildings and equipment. Some are particularly fine schools, as St. Joseph in Kadikeuy and St. Benoit in Galata. The instruction is mainly in French, little attention being given to the vernacular languages. The courses of study are modeled on those of the schools of France. The higher schools prepare students for the examination known as the French baccalaureate, which admits to French universities.

914.961
J66

13726

Miller & Rhoads
RICHMOND, VA.

7109 K5